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PREFACE

Volume 36 contains some of Lenin's writings from 1900 to 1923. A large part of the volume consists of his letters directly connected with the letters, telegrams and notes printed in volumes 34 and 35. The letters for 1900-03 to P. B. Axelrod, G. V. Plekhanov, V. P. Nogin, S. I. Radchenko, P. N. Lepeshinsky and P. A. Krasikov, Yelena Stasova and others show Lenin's varied activity in creating the first all-Russia illegal Marxist paper, *Iskra*, and the journal *Zarya*, and throw light on his struggle against "Legal Marxism" and Economism. The letters for 1903-04 to G. M. Krzhizhanovsky, V. A. Noskov, V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich, G. D. Leiteisen and others relate to Lenin's struggle against the disrupting and disorganising activities of the Mensheviks after the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party.

The correspondence for 1905-07 sheds light on Lenin's activity in connection with the calling of the Third Party Congress and the fulfilment of its decisions.

The documents for the years of reaction show the measures taken by Lenin to resume publication of the newspaper *Proletary* in Geneva and improve the work of the Central Organ, and his struggle against open and undercover liquidationism and the attempts to distort the theoretical foundations of the revolutionary Marxist party.

A number of documents reflect Lenin's activity in the International Socialist Bureau.

A large number of letters during the years of the First World War addressed to V. A. Karpinsky, A. G. Shlyapnikov, Alexandra Kollontai and others deal with the resump-

tion of publication of *Sotsial-Demokrat* (the Central Organ of the Party), the rallying of internationalist elements, and the exposure of social-chauvinism and Centrism in Russian and international Social-Democracy. The question of calling the internationalists' conferences at Zimmerwald and Kienthal is a prominent one in these letters.

A considerable part of the documents in the volume represent spadework done by Lenin—plans, summaries, outlines, theses. Among them are the "Preliminary Draft of the April Theses", "Plan for a Report on the Seventh (April) All-Russia Conference of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.)", "Draft Decree on Consumers' Communes. Preliminary Theses", "Material for the Fourth (Extraordinary) All-Russia Congress of Soviets", "Notes on the Question of Reorganising State Control", "On Polytechnical Education. Notes on Theses by Nadezhda Konstantinovna*", "Notes for a Speech at the Tenth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) on the Substitution of Food Requisitioning by a Tax", "Notes for a Report at the Second All-Russia Congress of Political Education Workers", "Notes on the History of the R.C.P.", "Notes for a Speech on March 27, 1922", "Notes for a Report 'Five Years of the Russian Revolution and the Prospects of the World Revolution'", and "Outline of Speech at the Tenth All-Russia Congress of Soviets".

The volume includes 59 works (marked with an asterisk in the contents) which were first published in the *Collected Works* in the Fourth Russian Edition. Three letters to G. V. Plekhanov—November 9, 1900, July 13, 1901 and December 1, 1902—relate to the period when Plekhanov was a member of *Iskra*'s editorial board. They draw attention to the need to repel the efforts of some members of the board to weaken *Iskra*'s fight against opportunism and revisionism, and give details on the preparation of material for the various issues of the paper.

In a letter to Karl H. Branting on April 19, 1901, Lenin invites the Swedish and Finnish Social-Democrats to establish closer relations through contributions to the newspaper *Iskra* and the journal *Zarya*. Lenin points out how important it would be for the Russian people, the Russian workers

* N. K. Krupskaya.—*Ed.*

in particular, to be informed about the political state of the people of Finland and their struggle against tsarism.

The volume includes the "Preface to the Speeches of Nizhni-Novgorod-Workers in Court", written before December 1 (14), 1902. In his letters to the secretary of the British Labour Representation Committee, dated March 23 and May 20, 1905, Lenin gives an account of the disbursement of the money sent in aid of the families who had suffered of "Bloody Sunday" (January 9, [22], 1905).

In a letter to Lydia Fotieva on June 1 or 2, 1905, Lenin tells of his intention to give a lecture in Paris on "The Third Congress and Its Decisions". The article, "The State of Affairs in the Party", written in July 1911 during the preparations for the Party Conference at Prague, deals with the struggle against the conciliators and their Menshevik and Trotskyite allies, who were trying to prevent the calling of the Conference.

Eight letters addressed to the editorial board of the Bolshevik paper *Pravda* (five in October and November 1912, and three between February and April 1914) show Lenin's guidance of *Pravda*, which brought up a whole generation of revolutionary Russian workers known as "Pravdists"- the letters deal at length with the work of the editorial board in connection with the Fourth Duma election campaign.

The volume includes nine articles written for *Pravda* in 1912 and 1913 but not printed at the time, and 16 articles published in *Pravda* in 1913 and 1914, part of them unsigned, part over various pen-names, and which were only established as belonging to Lenin on the strength of fresh archive documents.

His articles "After the Elections in America", "More Zeal than Sense" and "In America" expose the deception of the masses by the bourgeois parties, and the cynical and dirty trading in "party principles" during the elections to secure the fat jobs in the Administration. Lenin showed how the American multimillionaires, under the pretext of providing external defence for the state, were in reality defending the interests of the capitalist monopolies; he explained that the workers of all countries stood for peace, and that imperialist wars waged in the interests of the capitalists involved tremendous sacrifices.

In a number of articles, Lenin analyses the working-class movement in Germany. The proletariat's growing indignation against the imperialists and the plunder of the masses by a handful of capitalist arms manufacturers is described in "The German Social-Democrats and Armaments". In "Lessons of the Belgian Strike", he examines the general strike by the Belgian proletariat in April 1913 to back up their demand for universal suffrage. "The High Cost of Living and the 'Hard' Life of the Capitalists" and "Capitalism and Female Labour" deal with the plight of the workers in tsarist Russia and give a vivid description of the enrichment of a handful of capitalists and the impoverishment and ruin of the masses of working people in capitalist conditions.

Included for the first time in the Fourth Russian Edition of the *Collected Works* are the plan for a lecture on "The Russian Revolution, Its Significance and Its Tasks", delivered at Zurich not later than March 27, 1917; a letter to Giacinto M. Serrati of December 4, 1918; "Draft Third Clause of the General Political Section of the Programme (for the Programme Commission of the Eighth Party Congress)", showing the essence of proletarian socialist democracy and its basic distinction from bourgeois democracy; a telegram to Bela Kun of May 13, 1919, with greetings for the Red Army of the Hungarian workers and peasants, and a letter to Bela Kun of June 18, 1919, warning him not to trust the Entente,* which was only trying to gain time to crush the revolution.

A group of documents (December 31, 1920-August 5, 1921) deal with the manufacture of electric ploughs.

In a letter to the chairman of the State Bank, A. L. Sheinman, on February 28, 1922, Lenin points to the defects in the work of the State Bank and the need for a more careful selection of personnel. In a letter to N. Osinsky on April 12, 1922, Lenin underlines the importance of studying and broadly popularising advanced local experience.

The volume includes documents dictated by Lenin in December 1922-January 1923: "Letter to the Congress", known as the "Testament", and letters "Granting Legis-

* See Note 260.—*Ed.*

lative Functions to the State Planning Commission" and "The Question of Nationalities or 'Autonomisation'".

These works lead up to Lenin's last writings, which are of programme significance: "Pages from a Diary", "On Co-operation", "Our Revolution (Apropos of N. Sukhanov's Notes)", "How We Should Reorganise the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection (Recommendation for the Twelfth Party Congress)" and "Better Fewer, But Better" dictated in January and February 1923 and published at the time in *Pravda* (see present edition, Vol. 33).

In his "Letter to the Congress" Lenin emphasises the need to preserve the Communist Party's unity, and proposes practical steps to ensure it, enhance the Central Committee's prestige and improve the Party machinery. Lenin proposes that the number of members of the Party's C.C. should be increased to between 50 and 100. He describes the personality of some Central Committee members, and points out Stalin's defects and suggests a discussion of the question of replacing him by another comrade as Secretary-General.

In his letter "Granting Legislative Functions to the State Planning Commission" Lenin points out the need to extend its terms of reference and tells of the political and business qualities its leaders should possess.

Of great importance is Lenin's letter, "The Question of Nationalities or 'Autonomisation'", written before and during the First Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R. It vividly brings out Lenin's role as the true inspirer and creator of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and his concern for a correct national policy and the strengthening of the U.S.S.R. He demands the application of the principles of proletarian internationalism and the strengthening of the friendship of all the peoples of the Soviet Union, great and small.

He condemns the Great-Power deviation in the national question as the principal danger at the time, points out the harmfulness of Great-Power and chauvinist distortion of the idea of unifying the Soviet republics, and denounces the excessive centralism and bureaucratic practices in this sphere. He stresses the need to ensure full and effective equality of nations, to exercise skill in conducting the

national policy and take account of the particular features and interests of the various nations, and to strengthen the sovereignty of each republic as a necessary condition for the people's unity and fraternal friendship.

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The works of Lenin included in Volume 36 are given in chronological order, with the documents sent from abroad dated in the New Style.

The volume contains an index of names identifying the assumed names used in the text.

1900

TO Y. M. STEKLOV[1]

Letter to Nakhamkis

1. We shall carry it.

2. The pluses of the article. [Remarks about the mass and Social-Democratic mass movement—the impossibility for Social-Democrats to renounce their strict Social-Democratic principles even for a moment—about propaganda and agitation, and the relationship between political rights and political freedom. About not narrowing down the significance of May Day, etc.]

3. The minus. Some minor alterations in the article are desirable, and we suggest what they might be, hoping that joint discussions of them will bring us to complete agreement.

Firstly, there is need for a summing-up of what has been said, a résumé, a conclusion, as you yourself have already pointed out. Secondly, in connection with this, a rewording of some passages and a shortening of the rest of the article (whose total length *must not exceed 1 printed sheet*) are desirable (for example, the following passages might be cut down: p. 3 [N.B. 2]; p. 39 [N.B. 16] and some others). It seems to us that the rewording should consist in the following: the whole form of the article has become something of a challenge ("open letter", the official form of address, etc.), and this is hardly desirable. You yourself pointed out some of the extremes in the present polemics ("Mr. G.'s stalwarts",[2] and similar things) and *you were quite right*; but since these extremes were there, we should now be more careful—not in the sense of conceding one iota of principle, but in the sense of refraining from *needlessly* embittering those who are working for Social-Democracy within the limits of their understanding. Perhaps a

criticism of the *Rabocheye Dyelo* programme in the third person would be better in this respect?

For the same reasons it would be appropriate to make some "allowance" for the formal side of the *Rabocheye Dyelo* programme. After all, it is not the programme of a party, nor even the draft programme of a party, so that it is incorrect to compare it with the programmes of the French and German Social-Democrats (at any rate, when such a comparison is made without reservations, as it is on your p. 42 [N.B. 17]).The criticism of the *formal* side of the programme could be abbreviated (you yourself expressed the desire, on p. 2, to "leave aside" the formal defects), reducing the formal shortcomings, as *particular* cases, to the *general* defect of the programme in principle. We think that such an alteration is desirable with respect to the critical remarks on pp. 45 (N.B. 20), 39 (N.B.16), 20 (N.B. 9) and 6 (N.B. 6). The brusque formulation of these remarks here and there might give the people occasion to speak (and not entirely without foundation) of faultfinding. The superfluous (from the strictly theoretical standpoint) reminder of the need to reckon with local conditions, etc., could be the result, not of the editorial board having failed to master scientific socialism, but of its wishing to emphasise this quite obvious point just at this moment, when it saw the need to do so. And is there not sometimes a need to stress even self-evident things? We *do not deny at all* that, in the present case, *75 per cent*—only 75 per cent—of the "need" boiled down to the "need" of bowing and scraping before *Rabochaya Mysl*. If we forget about the remaining 25 per cent, we shall give the people a chance to accuse us of faultfinding, whereas if we reduce these formal defects, *as particular instances*, to the general defect of principle, we shall take the faultfinding edge off our remarks and reinforce our line of argument.

Now a few more detailed remarks:

P. 17 (N.B. 8), footnote 1. The remark "What does this dream augur?" is obscure.

P. 24 (N.B. 11). You cannot say that Social-Democracy "is little concerned about whether its demands are attainable". We understand your idea and accept it, but it should be expressed with greater care and precision; "cannot make

the immediate possibility of attainment the supreme test" would indicate the road that *needs to be* taken, not the possibility of early practical success, or something of that sort.

P. 32 (N.B. 13)—"to use its own expression": isn't that too strong?

P. 33 (N.B. 14)—"to seize, etc.": an awkward, incautious expression, because of the word "seize".

P. 35 (footnote *in fine**). (N.B. 15.)

"Gendarmes" and so forth. Would it not be better to strike out or change this?

P. 43 (N.B. 18). Too strong. "Peasantry" is a term we cannot *eschew*.

P. 44 (N.B. 19). Too strong and blunt. The question of what the peasantry can provide is still far from settled by the Russian Social-Democrats (compare the footnote to the 1885 Programme of the Emancipation of Labour group[3]), and is hardly likely to be decided in the sense that the political role of the peasants is equal to *zero* (cf. *Der 18. Brumaire*[4]).

I hope to have a letter from you in reply to this, and not a letter alone, but the article as well (preferably not later than in 2 weeks' time, 3 weeks at the outside).

G. V. has looked through the article and has also decided *in favour* of it, noting only the passage on p. 24 (about the possibility of attainment).

P.S. The "we" in this letter are those with whom you had a talk at Bellerive.[5] *We do not undertake as yet to speak for the whole editorial board with complete certainty*, but hope this will not produce any unpleasant consequences either for you or for us.

Written not later than September 4, 1900
Sent from Nuremberg to Paris
First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*
Printed from the original

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* At the end.—*Ed.*

TO ***[6]

Dear Comrade,

We have received your letter, and hasten to reply.

If you consider the passing on of my words to G. as "retribution", as an unpleasant duty, then of course I must withdraw my request. If you do not find it unpleasant, please pass on my words on some suitable occasion, in a conversation, not as a complaint but as a correction. At all events, please bear in mind that I *do not insist*.

We *are not displaying* the "revolutionary *Sotsial-Demokrat* organisation"[7] signboard: when we wrote to you we emphasised that we were an independent literary undertaking.[8]

Whether we shall have an "impossible" polemic is a question we dealt with in our previous letter.

We have no intention whatever of forgoing personal acquaintance with this or that ally, but see no useful purpose in having special relations between the Literary Group[9] and the Union[10] at the present time, because the Union's distrust of us can be dissipated, I repeat, only by our publications, and any preliminary conversations would be futile.

There has not been, and cannot be any question of "considering the Literary Group's attitude to the Union binding upon you".

If your refusal to participate is quite out of the question we are very glad not to have understood you quite correctly, and hasten to send you an address to which all material from Russia could be sent (the Rögner address given you can be used only from abroad, and please don't pass it on to anyone else). Please inform us what you might con-

tribute to the journal and the newspaper, whether or not you have anything ready and, if not, when you think you could write.

Written in Munich
between September 6 and 15, 1900

First published in 1926
in *Lenin Miscellany I*

Printed from the original

TO P. B. AXELROD

October 10, 1900

Dear P. B.,

I have received your letter with the enclosures. Thanks for these.

About the English journal (there were two messages in it) my sister[11] says that she doesn't remember the title exactly —something like *Family Pictures*[12]—a yellow cover with red drawings, an illustrated journal, somewhat larger than *Neue Zeit*,[13] about 10 sheets; she says she gave it to you, in the presence of your wife, to pass on to me.

Alexei is well, writing, busy organising contacts. He will be free in six or eight weeks, hardly earlier. My brother[14] is still here, keeps putting it off.

The statement will be ready in a few days, and I shall of course send it on to you.[15] There is already plenty of copy for the paper; only a pity that it's mostly highly specific workers' stuff, strikes and strikes, and descriptions of the workers' condition. Nothing at all on internal questions.

Dietz has undertaken to publish the journal for us. The type has been bought, but there is still no responsible editor[16]: one arrangement has fallen through, but there are others in view. If we fail to find a responsible editor, we shall move the printing press elsewhere.

How is your health? Do you manage to do any work? I suppose Paris has completely worn you out? Let us know about the article on Liebknecht[17] for the journal and *for the paper*—how do matters stand, and when can we expect to have it?

I shake you warmly by the hand, and wish you the best of health and more free time.

Yours,
Petroff

Here is the best address:

Herrn Dr. Med. *Carl Lehmann*,
Gabelsbergerstrasse 20a, *München*.

Inside, on the second envelope: for Petrov.
(Excuse the scribble!)

P.S. We have just had a letter from Nakhamkis, from which it appears that there has been a misunderstanding about the subject of the Paris congresses.[18] You asked Gurevich to write, and of course this was very good. Koltsov wrote to tell us that he intended to deal with the same subject, and even informed Nakhamkis that we had "commissioned" him to write about it, which was not actually the case. Would you write to Koltsov suggesting that he should rather take up some other subject? Will you do this, please, since we don't know exactly where he is at present. We are writing to tell Nakhamkis that he and Gurevich should divide this work between them.

Sent from Munich to Zurich

First published in 1925
in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Printed from the original

TO P. B. AXELROD

October 18, 1900

Dear P. B.,

I received your long and kind letter of Oct. 15 yesterday. Many thanks for it. We were very glad to learn that you are better, and that you can get on with your work. Your article for the paper is being copied already! You are outstripping us: we are still unable to get organised to have someone copy out all the things that have to be sent off. Zagorskaya[19] has still not arrived, while the stuff to be copied keeps piling up. Sometimes I feel quite exhausted and out of touch with my real work.

I did not quite understand your hint about the impending "trouble" with the Parisians.[20] Of course it would be terribly difficult for you to write about everything; but perhaps you will pass on the substance of it to Vera Ivanovna, who, we hope, will soon be coming here?

We still have no responsible editor.... The statement has been prepared and sent to Russia (I will soon send you a copy), and before long it will be possible to begin setting up the paper. We intend to publish a long report, "May Day Demonstrations in Kharkov" (about 50,000 letters and spaces), as a separate pamphlet,[21] and to print only a very brief extract in the newspaper; after all, we cannot take up three-quarters of a sheet with a single article! (The newspaper will have 3 columns a page, approximately 6,000 letters each, or, to be more precise, "letters and spaces".) (We intend the first issue to have 2 sheets, 8 pages.) What do you think?

Thanks for the advice on correspondents' reports. We shall certainly try to make use of it, because that would, of course, only improve the make-up of the paper.[22]

I quite agree with your view of my brother's journey. What can one do with him? We are constantly receiving warnings from every side—both from Paris (that people arriving from Russia mention us all three by name), and from Russia (that I was traced on my way here,[23] and that in one provincial town they arrested a perfectly innocent man, a distant relative, *who had never seen one in his life*, and asked him what instructions I had given him!)—and I am doing my utmost to persuade my brother either not to go, or to go for a fortnight all told; I keep arguing with him, ridiculing him, abusing him (I have never abused him so violently)—but nothing seems to have any effect: he keeps saying he wants to go home! And now he has brought matters to the point of the statement being sent to Russia, which means (if the statement arrives, and that is certain) a direct indication of the new literary undertaking. After all, there's not much longer to wait before Alexei arrives, surely? My "opponent" is about to arrive, and I will give him this to read—let him "refute" it, if he can do so without a twinge of conscience!

We are both quite well, but very edgy: the main thing is this agonising uncertainty[24]; these German rascals keep putting us off daily with "tomorrows". What I could do to them!

Yes, I quite forgot (please be so kind as to forgive the hasty tone of this letter!)—we have already had negotiations with Buchholtz but he refused, refused flatly. He is pressing upon us a *Vermittlerrolle*,* and won't budge!

My very best wishes, and greetings to all your family.

Yours,
Petrov

Zagorskaya has just arrived. I will be seeing her tomorrow.

Sent from Munich to Zurich

First published in 1925 in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Printed from the original

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* The role of intermediary.—*Ed.*

TO P. B. AXELROD

October 19

Dear P. B.,

A short P.S. to yesterday's letter, so as not to make you answer questions which have turned out to be *erledigt*.*

We have just received the Parisians' letters, and at once understood what I wrote to you yesterday that I had not quite understood**: namely, your warning to be "wise as serpents" (easier said than done!) and to keep away from the "émigrés". The tone of the letters is such that it serves as an excellent commentary on your remark, which is now quite clear to me.

Yours,
Petrov

Written on October 19, 1900
Sent from Munich to Zurich

First published in 1925
in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Printed from the original

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* Settled.—*Ed.*

** See p. 36 this volume.—*Ed.*

TO P. B. AXELROD

October 21, 1900

Dear P. B.,

I saw Zagorskaya only yesterday; she passed on to me something from you.

Please send us the article (on Liebknecht) as soon as it is copied out. From what Zagorskaya said I could not get an idea of the exact size of the article, but size is, after all, not the main consideration: we can always make room, and it will always be a pleasure to do so, for your article.

As regards the lady from Paris who is going to South Russia in a month's time, and wants recommendations. I think the best thing to do is to introduce her to my sister, who is now in Paris and will be staying there another three weeks, if not more. If you agree with this plan, let us know this lady's name and address, and also write some little note to present to her on your behalf (if that should be necessary). Send it either to me, or to my sister (103 Rue de la Glacière. M-lle Loukachevitsch, *Paris*. For Blank).

I hear that you have sent a cushion and an English journal over here. To what address, and for whom, if it was marked *postlagernd**? Zagorskaya could tell me nothing about this.

All the very best,

Yours,

Petrov

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* Poste restante.—*Ed*.

P.S. I enclose a copy of our statement for America.[25] We *don't* want to *circulate it here*—at any rate, certainly not until it has appeared in Russia in sufficient quantities (and we have had no news yet from Russia about this). We have thought, therefore, of sending the statement at present only to you and to G. V., but if you think it *essential* to send it to America without waiting for news from Russia, then of course do so.

Yours,
Petrov

Sent from Munich to Zurich

First published in 1925
in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Printed from the original

TO V. P. NOGIN

November 2, 1900

Please forgive me, dear Novosyolov, that I am so disgracefully late with my reply to your letter of October 17. I was constantly distracted by "petty" matters and chores here, and was also waiting for a reply from Alexei. It was essential to wait for a reply, in order to clear up the question of our editorial statement. Alexei has decided not to circulate it at present. Therefore, in sending you a copy, I *beg* you to keep it secret for the time being, and *not* to show it to *anyone* (apart perhaps from that close friend of yours who has authority from the St. Petersburg group, and about whom you write[26]) and, in any case, not let it pass into anyone else's hands. In general, we have decided not to circulate this thing abroad until it has been distributed in Russia, and since Alexei is holding it back over there, it is particularly important for us to see that it does not spread out here. Counting on your close participation in our undertaking, I decided to make an exception and to acquaint you with the statement. When reading it please bear in mind that the intention is to publish both a paper and a *journal* (or a *miscellany*); but the statement says nothing about the latter for certain special reasons connected with the plan for publishing the journal.[27] Therefore, some passages of the statement should be read as applying *not only* to the paper.

Please write and tell me what impression the statement has made on you and your friend.

What type of "agitation journal" do the members of the *Rabocheye Znamya* group propose to publish (it was about them you wrote, wasn't it?)? What kind of journal is it to be, and who is to work on it?

As regards shipment across the frontier into Russia, I think this will always be easily done: we have connections with several groups who carry on such transport, and in addition a member of our group was recently given a promise (a solid one, judging by everything) that they would be able to take anyone across the frontier into Russia without a passport. This, I think, is easily arranged.

The Russian passport business is much worse. So far there is nothing, and the "prospects" are still very indefinite. Perhaps this too will be arranged by the spring.

I shall probably be staying on here for a fairly long time, and our correspondence can therefore continue without inconvenience.

You ask what work we should like to request you to take on. I think that (by the spring or by the autumn, whenever you intend to move) the following work will be of especial importance for us: (1) transport of literature across the frontier; (2) delivery throughout Russia; (3) organisation of workers' groups to circulate the paper and collect information, etc., i.e., in general, organisation of the circulation of the paper and of close and proper connections between it and individual committees and groups. We pin great hopes on your co-operation, particularly in the business of direct contacts with the workers in various places. Does such work appeal to you? Have you anything against travelling? It would probably require constant travels.

Is the St. Petersburg group, from which your friend has authority, still in existence? If so, could he provide addresses for contacts in St. Petersburg and a password, in order to transmit our statement to them? Have they any connections with the workers in general, and the St. Petersburg Workers' Organisation in particular[28]?

All the best, and I wish you the speediest and easiest emergence from quarantine abroad.

Yours,
Petroff

P.S. Have I written the address correctly?
Please confirm receipt of this letter.

Sent from Munich to London

First published in 1928
in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the original

TO P. B. AXELROD

November 3

I received your letter yesterday, dear P. B., and have today already sent off the note to my sister. I have not passed on the letter to V. I.

Before I forget: please, let me know *to whom* the cushion and the English book you sent here were addressed. *I have not yet received them*. If you sent them *postlagernd*, was it the ordinary *postlagernd* or *Bahnhofpostlagernd*,* or some other way? V. I. could not tell me, and I have been waiting for your letter all this time, but there is no mention of this in it. Since I don't know the name in the address, I cannot make inquiries. Please, ask Vera Pavlovna to drop me a line about this, and kindly forgive me for worrying you again and again with these trifles.

As regards the article on Liebknecht, truly we don't know what to do. Your article turned out to be long enough *for the journal*: 8 pages (according to V. I., similar to those in *Nakanune*[29] in small type, i.e., about 8,000 letters per page)—this makes 64,000 letters, and even if we take *Nakanune*'s larger type, it will come to *about 50,000 letters*! Our paper will have the *Vorwärts* format, also in three columns. Each column of about 6,000 letters, which means that *half* your article will take up an entire page of the newspaper, plus another column! This is extremely inconvenient for the paper, apart from the inconvenience of dividing up such an article as yours about Liebknecht.

I will calculate all this more precisely when your article arrives. We shall do our best to carry it, but if this proves to be impossible because of the size, will you be

* Railway poste restante.—*Ed.*

so good as to allow us to publish it as a pamphlet supplement to the paper (if you are writing about Liebknecht separately for the journal)? We are now setting up the *May Day Demonstrations in Kharkov* pamphlet (50,000 letters); then will come the turn of the paper, and then of your pamphlet about Liebknecht; if it proves necessary, an obituary could be written for the paper, with a reference to the pamphlet. What do you think of that?

I repeat that all this is mere supposition; it is essential to make an exact calculation, and when I do this, on receipt of your article, I will write to you at once.

I wish you all the best, and particularly that you should get well again as soon as possible. Kindest regards to your family.

Yours,
Petrov

Written on November 3, 1900
Sent from Munich to Zurich

First published in 1925
in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Printed from the original

TO P. B. AXELROD

November 8

Dear P. B.,

I have received your letter of the 5th and the article.[30] Many thanks. The alterations probably involved a great deal of work and must have caused even more annoyance, because condensing such a subject must be extremely uninteresting work. It is all the more valuable to us that you undertook to do it. Please excuse us for not sending you the articles: our "secretary" is, unfortunately, burdened with serious family duties, and therefore the copying proceeds very slowly. I enclose an article, "New Friends of the Russian Proletariat", which we want to publish in No. 1 as a feature.[31] Please let us know your opinion (you can pencil it on the article) and then be kind enough to send it onto G. V.

As regards the Parisians, we decided on the very tactics you advised: on the one hand, "not to arm", and on the other, "to abstain". Of course, they are dissatisfied with our abstention and we were recently obliged (of necessity) to give such a rebuff to their expression of dissatisfaction that we feared a "cooling-off" (feared is not quite the right word, because we decided to give this rebuff even if it should inevitably lead to a rupture). Yesterday, we received a reply from the "secretary" of the group they have formed in Paris[32]; judging by the reply, our rebuff has had no harmful consequences, and "all is well". Let's hope that this will continue to be so in the future. It is quite true that later on we shall probably have to think of the "rules" and the other pleasant and interesting things you mention:

but it was a master-stroke on your part to have set approximately six months for this. It would be premature so long as the undertaking is not "in full working order"; we are completely in agreement with you in this respect.

But I cannot agree with you about beginning to appear here openly. I cannot as yet think that "legality has already been lost". To my mind, it has not *yet* been lost, and this "yet" may last another few months, during which time much will be clarified. (My brother is already in Russia, and so far all is well. The traveller[33] is also wandering successfully, so far.) And even if there were a complete and final loss of legality, there might be weighty considerations against coming out openly (for example, considerations about journeys home). Therefore, until the first issues have appeared, and until all of us (including Alexei and my brother) get together, I shall, in any case, remain in hiding. If the undertaking is destined to be a success, this decision may soon change, but my earlier "optimism" about this condition has been thoroughly shaken by "the humdrum of life".[34]

As regards the journal, it will soon be clear, I suppose, whether we shall organise it here or seek refuge in other countries. As soon as this is cleared up, I shall let you know.

I find it very inconvenient to write to America, for after all I know no one there, and no one there knows me, and all the same it will be necessary to use you as an intermediary. Would it not, therefore, be better for you to write direct, and to send the statement, informing them that it comes from a Russian group, stating your attitude to this group and saying that a pamphlet, *May Day Demonstrations in Kharkov*, is now being set at the same printing press, and that when it is finished the paper will be set; that the statement says nothing about a journal (or a miscellany) for technical reasons of secrecy, but that for No. 1 there are being written (or are ready) such-and-such articles by G. V., yourself and Kautsky (*Erinnerungen**, an interesting piece which V. I. is already translating), and others. It seems to me that all the aims you mention will be attained much better and much more directly by your letter,

* Reminiscences.—*Ed.*

while your dispatch of the statement to America no longer entails (I think) any undesirable publicity, particularly the sending of one copy for the secretary of the society there to read out at its meeting.[35]

All best wishes,
Yours,
Petroff

P.S. I have received the cushion and the book.

Written on November 8, 1900
Sent from Munich to Zurich

First published in 1925
in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Printed from the original

TO G. V. PLEKHANOV

November 9

I received your letter today, dear Georgi Valentinovich, and at once sent you by registered book-post (1) the article "What Has Happened?" by Puttman; (2) the article by Byvaly, and (3) the article by D. Koltsov about the Paris Congress.[36]

Vera Ivanovna found this last article quite unacceptable and I entirely agree with her. The article is uninteresting, quite unsuitable for the journal (especially since you will be writing about Millerand[37]) and much too long for the paper. It contains 22,000-27,000 letters, whereas for the paper we need an item of 6,000-9,000 letters or only a little more. We would therefore like to ask Rakovsky to write an article of that size for the paper, and to reject Koltsov's article. We decided to send it on to you, all the more since you were going to reply to Rakovsky. So do as you find most appropriate—either reject Koltsov's article and order one from Rakovsky, or request Koltsov to rewrite and shorten the article, under your guidance. It seems to us more probable that you will choose the first alternative, and in that case you can of course refer to us when informing Koltsov, and we can write to him ourselves as soon as we get your reply.

I am sending the article by Byvaly for polishing up and insertion of some corrections which you indicated. Of course you may make corrections: please do so with all the articles, either making them in pencil right in the manuscript or on separate sheets. I can, if you like, write to Byvaly afterwards about these corrections—he is not likely

to take a rigid stand, but if he does, we shall have to discuss the matter and make a choice: whether or not to take the whole as it is. The only thing I cannot agree with you on at all is the suggestion to cut out the mention of Bakharev's pamphlet,[38] and this not so much because it would be extremely unpleasant for the author, as because I, too, consider Bakharev's pamphlet useful (in spite of its defects), for it raises a really important point and, on the whole, deals with it correctly. Byvaly writes not only about the old but also about the new; if serious revolutionaries had no need of such pamphlets in the 1870s, we nowadays certainly have need of them, and we had the firm intention to print a critical but approving note about it (possibly in the paper, but not in No. 1). The fact that quite young workers and intellectuals are being drawn into the mass movement, who have almost completely forgotten, or rather have no knowledge of what used to happen in the old days and how, and the absence of organisation of "experienced" revolutionaries—all this makes it necessary to publish pamphlets about rules of behaviour for socialists. The Poles have such a pamphlet,[39] which seems to give a great deal more than Bakharev's does. Vera Ivanovna agrees that the mention of Bakharev should not be cut out. In certain conditions, if you think it useful, a discussion in the journal on the question of the possible importance of such pamphlets might perhaps not be altogether irrelevant.

We intend Byvaly's article for the journal and not the paper. Vera Ivanovna says that our paper turns out to be at a lower level, in terms of the readers for whom it is intended, than you probably imagine. Vera Ivanovna is on the whole rather dissatisfied with the paper: she says it is of the *Rabocheye Dyelo type*, only somewhat more literary, more brushed up. I have sent one article to Pavel Borisovich, asking him to send it on to you. It would be quite inconvenient to have the question of Kautsky's resolution shortened and abridged to the size of a newspaper article and that is why we should like the journal to carry an article or item on this question by you. Or perhaps you intend to confine yourself to something very small? Probably even an item on this subject will require about 10 printed pages, i.e., about 20,000 letters, if not more?

I must say that I thought you would be willing to write an item about Solovyov. Puttman is hardly likely to take it on. I shall write to him, but I am not very hopeful.

Vera Ivanovna is prepared to write about the Decembrists,[40] but what about the material? We shall write immediately to have them send us what they can. Perhaps you too will suggest what it would be particularly important to have for this work. I think the most important thing is the historical journals, which are not available here.

Gurevich is writing a big article for the journal on French affairs, and for the newspaper on the national congress. Goldendakh or Nakhamkis was going to write about the International Congress, but did not.

Please send us your article, "Socialism and the Political Struggle " (it can be sent by registered book-post *to the same address of Lehmann*); I doubt that Alexei would not like the article because of the comradely criticism, for I remember him telling me that he found the objections of Pavel Borisovich to be justified.

We shall number the separate sheets (unless they have been numbered already) and I don't think the compositors will lose anything; after all, they always have to deal with separate sheets, and the same applies to our paper, and so far they have never lost anything. The question of "responsible editor" will evidently be settled favourably, I think, tomorrow or the day after (today I received news that two have agreed, and am expecting vital information tomorrow). We think that all the same we shall not manage (initially, at least) without the help of Blumenfeld, whom Dietz has agreed to take on as a compositor, and who would *put the thing on its feet* for us, train the Germans, etc. As soon as all this is finally cleared up, I shall write or telegraph to him at once. But I should very much like to have your article, "Once More", etc.,[41] as soon as possible, because we might have to send it for setting immediately.

Against *Rabochaya Mysl*—more precisely, only against the article "Our Reality" in the *Separate Supplement*—I had an article, "The Retrograde Movement in Russian Social-Democracy",[42] written as far back as a year ago. It has now been sent here to me, and I am thinking of rewriting

it for the journal, with additional material directed against *Rabocheye Dyelo*.

I don't quite understand to which "latest No." of *Rabochaya Mysl* you refer. No. 8 was the last issue of the paper (a new editorial board "from page 5"), which, incidentally, carries a *repudiation* of the famous *parallels* at the end of the article on Chernyshevsky in the *Separate Supplement*. Is that what you have in mind?

I would think the item, "To What Lengths They Have Gone",[43] a useful one, though *now* I doubt the "belligerency" of *Rabochaya Mysl*: they nevertheless want to take a few steps "towards us" (*passez moi le mot**), and we ought to try to consider them *verbesserungsfähig*.** But of course there *should* be an attack in any case: they won't change unless attacked. I have been corresponding lately with Vetrinskaya, an old comrade of mine in the League,[44] and told her that I supported Alexei's words: "We shall have to wrestle with you." Go aheid, if you are not ashamed, she told Alexei. I wrote to say that I was not in the least ashamed.

I should also like to have a talk with you about the economic trend and Alexei's views, but it is already very late, and I will confine myself to a few words. The economic *trend*, of course, was always a mistake, but then it is very young, while there has been *overemphasis* of "economic" agitation (*and there still is here and there*) even without the trend, and it was the legitimate and inevitable companion of *any step forward* in the conditions of our movement which *existed in Russia* at the end of the 1880s or the beginning of the 1890s. The situation then was so murderous that you cannot probably even imagine it, and one should not censure people who stumbled as they clambered up out of that situation. For the purposes of this clambering out, some narrowness was essential and legitimate: *was*, I say, for with this tendency to blow it up into a theory and tie it in with Bernsteinism, the whole thing of course changed radically. But that the overemphasis of "economic" agitation and catering to the "mass" movement

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* Excuse the expression.—*Ed*.

** Capable of improvement, not entirely hopeless.—*Ed*.

were natural, you too, unless I'm mistaken, recognised in "The New Campaign" written in 1896, when Vilna Economism[45] was already *à l'ordre du jour*,* while St. Petersburg economism was emerging and taking shape.

Every good wish, and please excuse the disorderly writing.

Yours,
Petroff

Written on November 9, 1900
Sent from Munich to Geneva

First published in 1956
in *Kommunist* No. 18

Printed from the original

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* On the agenda.—*Ed.*

TO P. B. AXELROD

November 16

I have just received, dear P. B., your remarks on the article "The Urgent Tasks".[46] Many thanks. What do you think about the unpopularity of this article? It won't sound discordant, will it?

I enclose the preface to the pamphlet *May Day Demonstrations in Kharkov* (some, but very small, corrections were made in the manuscript you have). Please, let's hear what you think of it, and do not hesitate to make your remarks on it, in ink or in pencil.

I am also sending you a document received from Russia about the amalgamation of the St. Petersburg Workers' Organisation and the League of Struggle.[47] They say the St. Petersburg people are terribly proud of it, and Kiev is said to have adopted the programme already. It must be written about. Would you like to do so? (After reading this "document"—this "specimen", as my brother calls it—please send it on to G. V., if you don't need it.)

We have at last found a responsible editor. Ettinger has undertaken to sign two numbers in any case, giving up all claims about the "tone", etc., and reserving the right after these two issues to make a statement in the press about her disagreement with the content, and so forth. Let us hope that she will keep to this condition (she only asks very earnestly that we should say nothing about it to anyone until publication), and in the meantime we shall either find someone elge, or make other arrangements.[48] I personally negotiated with Ettinger with the aid of Buchholtz, who *resigned from the Union* for the purpose of taking

some steps in the spirit of conciliation. I shall write in more detail about these steps later, considering that there is little of interest in them.

We now hope to begin setting in a few days.

With all good wishes,

Yours,

Petroff

Written on November 16, 1900
Sent from Munich to Zurich

First published in 1925
in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Printed from the original

TO P. B. AXELROD

November 19, 1900

Dear P. B.,

I have just received your letter of November 17, and read your remarks with great interest. Of course we shall try without fail to send you as many articles as possible, as this is valuable for the publications in all respects, quite apart from your natural interest in them. One thing we are sorry about is that our secretary is *überarbeitet**; but this will change soon all the same, because serious reforms are afoot in the matter of *Kinderpflege*.**[49]

Danevich has sent in an item of about 12,000 letters for the paper, on the French national congress; I hesitate to say whether it is entirely suitable. Very possibly we shall manage without it if we have your chronicle of events, which we are awaiting impatiently. Danevich is writing a big article on French affairs for the journal.[50]

The enclosed letter is for Rolau: my colleague is writing to him about our "tea" business, because we think that my correspondent Skubiks is not in town.[51] Please be good enough to pass this letter on to Rolau, and ask him to reply to us at once (forgive me for troubling you with such a request: I hope you can entrust, say, Gurevich with this). But if Rolau is not in town, would you be so kind as to read the letter addressed to him, and have a talk about its matter, if only with Skubiks's wife. The thing is that

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* Overworked.—*Ed.*

** Child care.—*Ed.*

we must have a definite reply as soon as possible, and if neither Rolau nor Skubiks is available, this can't be done otherwise than by a personal talk between you and someone of their company.

As regards the article by L. Axelrod,[52] I quite agree with you that it should first of all be sent to G. V.

Every good wish, and excuse this too hasty letter.

Yours,
Petrov

Sent from Munich to Zurich

First published in 1925 in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Printed from the original

TO P. B. AXELROD

November 26, 1900

Dear P. B.,

I have just received a letter from our mutual friend, who tells us that everything has been arranged. At last the business will go forward "steadily"! He begs you to send (me), as quickly as possible, the Nusperli passport* (or Husperli? It is not clear, but you must know what is meant).[53]

Tomorrow, November 27, he begins the setting, and consequently we may hope that in two weeks' time (or a little more) everything will be quite ready. It is therefore very important to have all the material available within a week, including your foreign chronicle. I hope that this date will not cause you to break off anything, for I suppose most of it has been done. V. I. is writing to G. V. today, asking him to hurry up the person who is writing about the Paris congress.[54] It is, of course, quite possible to make references to his article (if you do make any) even before the article arrives.

Wishes of all the best and of good health.

Yours,
Petrov

P.S. I am this very day sending Dietz the manuscript (by G. V.).[55] I hope there, too, things will go ahead decisively. High time!

Sent from Munich to Zurich

First published in 1925 in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Printed from the original

* He writes: I will send it back as soon as I arrive here."

TO P. B. AXELROD

December 11

Dear P. B.,

Thank you very much for letting us have your remarks so speedily on the item about the split.[56] I have made the corrections you want, except that I could not cut out altogether the mention of the *Rabocheye Dyelo*'s services: it seems to me that this would be unfair to an opponent with a record not only of offences against Social-Democracy.

Poletayev told me a piece of news that has made me very glad, that you have to some extent got free of the yoghurt, and could pay us a short visit. Now this would be splendid! I think there will be no difficulty in finding accommodation, one can take a room by the week. After all you do have a Swiss citizen's passport. I am still waiting (still, because I have been waiting a long time already, and to no purpose) the early arrival of both friends. Alexei writes that he is "eager to come", but is being somewhat delayed by various circumstances. The other friend has not written for a long time, but I don't think this means that anything very bad has happened. By the time they arrive, both *Iskra* (in 1 or 2 weeks) and *Zarya* will probably have appeared (Dietz has hired another compositor and is driving ahead quickly, hurrying us up. By the way, will you have anythiog for this issue of the journal*?). By that time, something will also have been cleared up about the transport (what a difficult problem!) and about the

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* Perhaps you could put together something of what you wrote about Liebknecht and which did not go into the paper.

material, and then it would be extremely desirable to have a general meeting. I look forward to this very much.

What about young Adler's article[57]? Is he writing it? When will it be ready? Please hurry him up in a letter and —if you find the correspondence too burdensome, or if the *Umweg** via Munich—Zurich—Vienna entails long delay, then give him Lehmann's address (Herrn Dr. Med. Carl Lehmann, Gabelsbergerstrasse *20a*. München. On the second envelope: für Meyer)—and give us his address, and we shall squeeze a reply out of him.

We want to print 1,000 copies of *Zarya* for Russia and 500 for abroad.

I am eagerly awaiting your chronicle, and then a meeting.

Yours,
Petroff

For Gurevich:

Please try and arrange the following: we need to have a good address in Zurich through which Yefimov (Dietz's compositor) could carry on correspondence with Geneva, i.e., an intermediary, transmitting address. If you can, please send it to me as soon as possible, and in any case drop me a line at least right away in reply.

My best wishes, and regards to Vera Pavlovna.

Yours,
Petroff

Written on December 11, 1900
Sent from Munich to Zurich

First published in 1925
in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Printed from the original

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* Roundabout way.—*Ed.*

TO P. B. AXELROD

Midnight, December 14, 1900

Dear P. B.,

Forgive me for having disturbed you unnecessarily with my telegram. Not having received the article in the morning, I inferred (after your telegram of yesterday) that something had happened, and decided to inquire by telegram, in particular under the influence of a desperate letter from the printers. And then your article arrived a few hours later! I hasten to inform you without delay of its arrival, as you asked, and, once again, please excuse the telegram.

I am very, very glad that we shall soon see each other; my "brother" will, I think, also arrive in a few days, and Alexei too, possibly, in 2 or 3 weeks' time.

There is still no article from Paris on the International Congress—I have sent a telegram today.

I may have to go away for a short time before the paper appears, in order to sort out various small items (we are badly out in thousands of letters, and are now throwing out a good deal!), but this will take 3 or 4 days, no more.

Let me know whether I should take a room for you, or just have a preliminary look for one. I will ask V. I. about your requirements, and will begin my search.

Forgive the brevity—I am very tired and in a hurry.

Very best regards,

Yours,

Petroff

Sent from Munich to Zurich

First published in 1925 in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Printed from the original

TO P. B. AXELROD

December 24, 1900

Dear P. B.,

I returned from my business trip only yesterday,[58] and found your letter. The paper should be ready today; as soon as I receive it I shall send it to you, unless you start out yourself.

My brother arrives this evening.

Alexei will not get rid of his obstacles and leave before Dec. 20 (O.S.).

I was *quite* unable to send the proofs—I myself could not get them, and had to make the journey to sort things out on p. 8. However unpleasant it was, I had to divide your article, and hold up the second half for the next issue,[59] otherwise what was essential could not have gone in, on account of the setting (for technical reasons) in bourgeois, instead of brevier.

And so, from Vasilyev—? And from Adler—nothing? You say nothing of Adler in your letter.

The journal is going forward: G. V. has sent in an article on Struve[60]—6 articles have been sent in all.

All the best, and I heartily wish you speedy recovery from the influenza which is raging so everywhere this year.

Yours,
Petroff

P.S. I have just learned from Gurevich's letter that you have received the article on Austria. That's fine. Have

you a really good translator? If not, send us the article, we shall translate it over here.

To Gurevich

Thanks for your information. Of course it would be desirable to have details about the Riga comrade: what kind of work would and could he take on? How free and financially well off is he, etc.?

Please tell Skubiks that I got his letter, but did not reply because I was away—and now can only say that *our man is already "there"* and has an address, so that the matter I was corresponding with Skubiks about is settled.

With best wishes,
Petrov

Sent from Munich to Zurich

First published in 1925 in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Printed from the original

1901

TO V. P. NOGIN

January 3, 1901

Dear Comrade,

I have received *Revolution and Counter-Revolution*,[61] and am very grateful to you for sending this booklet. As regards transport we cannot at this moment undertake any definite obligations. Our routes are just now being arranged and will evidently be arranged satisfactorily; but it remains to be seen how they will function. In all probability we shall be able to give you quite a definite reply in 2 or 3 weeks at the outside, and will be happy to undertake the shipment of your booklet, if we can. We know nothing of Max Menkus, and are not doing our business through him. Your letters and reports have been received. We have already used some of them for the paper. Incidentally, the first issue should be ready in a few days, and I shall then send you a copy.[62] We expect our Poltava friend to arrive here in the very near future. All the best. Oh yes, there is also this. Having learned that we have completed a translation of Kautsky's book, *Bernstein and the Social-Democratic Programme*, a member of the *Rabocheye Znamya* group approached a member of our group in Russia offering to publish the translation.[63] But we should like to publish it ourselves, in our own name. Therefore would the persons who made the offer agree to give us the money for its publication, if only

some of it? Please write to tell us whether you are able and willing to write to them about it.

Yours,
*Petrov**

We propose to publish Hyndman's article in the near future with a footnote that "it has been sent to us in the author's MS. *through the good offices of a member of the Rabocheye Znamya group in St. Petersburg*".[64] If you have anything to say about the underlined words, please inform us *immediately*.

All the best,
Petrov

Sent from Munich to London
First Published in 1928
in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the typescript
text with corrections
and postscript by Lenin

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* Here is added, in an unknown hand: "Address: Herrn Philipp Rögner Cigarrenhandlung Neue Gasse Nürnberg."—*Ed.*

TO V. P. NOGIN

January 24, 1901

Dear Comrade,

I have received your letter about the passports, have written to my friend here who might be expected to help me in this respect, and am now awaiting a reply. I think it will be possible to get a foreign (Bulgarian or German) passport (for entering Russia), but I'm not hopeful about a Russian passport, or at least a blank passport, not filled in. This may, of course, come off, but I should advise you to take steps right away to secure a foreign passport, at the risk of being left without any at all. But as regards a Russian passport, if we succeed in getting one, it will be more likely in Russia.

If there is to be no mention of *Rabocheye Znamya* in the footnote, would you suggest another way of putting it? For example, from (through) a member of the *Rabocheye Znamya* group who worked in St. Petersburg in 1897, or something like that. I think it would be better to say somehow through whom the article was received, but if you think otherwise, naturally we shall publish it without any indication of how we received it.

I have been told the name of tbe St. Petersburg man who made the proposal (in one of the provinces, and a fairly remote one) about publishing the translation of Kautsky. I am afraid to entrust the name to the post; however, I will let you have it in this form. Write down Alexei's name, patronymic (in Russian style) and surname, and number all the 23 letters in their order. Then the surname of this St. Petersburg man will consist of the following letters: 6, 22, 11, 22 (for this substitute the next letter of the alphabet), 5, 10 and 13.[65]

As to the sale of *Revolution and Counter-Revolution*, we shall inquire from those organisations abrsad with whom we have contacts.

Over here everything now depends on transport, which is eating up a lot of money because this is a new undertaking. I cannot therefore give you any definite reply as regards financial aid for fabricating passports, until it has become clear just how much money is needed for this, and what the chances are that all the other essentials (money apart) are available. Alexei paid out money to one influential organisation as long ago as last spring (sic!) for the purchase of blank passports (which they had promised), but so far has had nothing.

Would you agree to take on yourself in the immediate future a permanent function in transportation—i.e., to live near the frontier, travel around, communicate with the contrabandists, etc.? Do you know German, or any language other than Russian?*

Every good wish,

Yours,

Petrov

I enclose the paper[66]; please show it to *no one* except your friend, and let me know your opinion. No. 2 is at the press.

Write to me at the following address:

Herrn Georg Rittmeyer,
Kaiserstrasse 53 I.
München.

(Without any enclosure, if the letter is in Russian.)

Sent from Munich to London

First Published in 1928 in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the original

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* Do you know of any comrade suitable for this work and who knows Yiddish? And also do you happen to know an absolutely reliable comrade who is a compositor?

TO THE *BORBA* GROUP[67]

February 3, 1901

Dear Comrades,

We are deeply distressed over your letter of refusal to co-operate. Our letter to Nevzorov (a letter with a special enclosure for you of the "statement," the No. 1 of *Iskra*, and a proof of Ryazanov's article) and your refusal letter must have crossed, having been sent off at the same time.

This alone will show you how far it was from us to keep you from taking part in our affairs. We ask you to excuse the delay—that is indeed our fault, but you must bear in mind that we suffer as much as you do from the "indefinite state of relations". We have strictly abided by our group's decision not to circulate the newspaper abroad before it is circulated in Russia, making an exception only for our closest associates, including your good selves. Until quite recently, we had been altogether uncertain as to whether the paper would circulate in Russia (even today we cannot *vouch* for it); we had our hands full in this matter in connection with some fresh negotiations (with the liberal democrats—so far a *big secret*!),[68] and this delayed fulfilment of the decision adopted a fortnight or so ago to send you the issue of *Iskra*.

Our statement has not yet been circulated in Russia but has only been *shown* to several persons.

We repeat that what has happened is the result not of any lack of concern but of the indefiniteness and bustle from which we ourselves have not yet emerged. We should

be very happy to see the misunderstandings produced by this cleared up and find you taking your old attitude to our common cause.

Comradely greetings,
Petrov

Sent from Munich to Paris
First Published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

TO THE *BORBA* GROUP

February 21, 1901

Dear Comrades,

Your insistence on "defining relations" has surprised us but, to our deep regret, we cannot satisfy you in this respect. Our business is just being started, the wheels have only just been set in motion, and whether it will really get going depends on everyone vigorously co-operating —when suddenly, instead of doing the urgent work, we are asked to set about "defining relations" with some kind of particular exactness! We think that close and constant collaboration (which has already been expressed by your sending us two articles, and on which we were relying for the future) is a sufficiently definite relation, and that from it there clearly follows also the right of contributors to speak on behalf of the publication, enlist supporters, establish contacts, collect funds, order articles, etc. That this enlistment will naturally lead also to more intimate contacts between those enlisted and the editorial board, and that the establishment of final agreements (about any undertaking, or about the management of this or that section, or this or that function) will require direct contacts between the editorial board and those who have been enlisted, all this likewise follows, as a matter of course, from the very nature of relations between close contributors and the editorial board.

We hope that our relations could in the course of time develop from the form of simple collaboration to the kind of co-operation under which some departments would be allocated, and general editorial conferences would be held from time to time.

Furthermore, we do not deny of course that the business of organising things abroad will require (in 3 or 6 months' time) the creation of new forms, organs and functions, and were relying on you in this respect, but we are unable to set about all this immediately, when *Zarya* and *Iskra* have still to be consolidated.

We hope that you, too, will realise our position and will agree that any further "definition of relations" at the present time is impossible.

All the best.

Sent from Munich to Paris

First Published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

TO P. B. AXELROD

February 27, 1901

Dear P. B.,

I have received both your letters, and have passed on the letter from Italy to V. I. I don't yet know the contents of that letter, because I transmitted it through Blumenfeld. He and I are setting out tomorrow: he is going on through Vienna, I am going via Vienna to Prague on my own business.[69] Please excuse me for writing briefly, because of appointments and packing.

A letter has come from Dietz to the effect that he *is not printing* the statement (about an alliance with the liberals), that this is dangerous ("amalgamation", groups, etc.) and that, altogether, would it not be better for us to have a secret printing press?! We are very much astounded by this piece of news from the erratic idiot Dietz. We have decided (*provisorisch**) *for the time being* to leave *Zarya* here (for the time being!) and print the rest in Geneva.

I *think* that diplomatic relations with the Parisians have been resumed.

Molotov has *already* written his article on finance (for No. 3 of *Iskra*).[70] He has promised a review of foreign affairs.

There is still not quite enough material for No. 3 of *Iskra*.

Judas (the calf) has not yet left. He is clearing out at last in a few days, I think—thank God. "All is well" with him.

From home there is letter after letter about the student disorders. My brother writes that he will soon be coming.

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* Provisionally.—*Ed*.

No. 2[71] has not yet reached Russia.

All the best. I will make certain to write a more sensible letter when I return (I shall be away for 4 or 7 days) and take up my usual routine.

Yours,
Petrov

Sent from Munich to Zurich

First published in 1925
in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Printed from the original

TO F. I. DAN

March 22, 1901

Many thanks for your letter of March 2 addressed to Rittmeyer. We are very glad that we have at last established correspondence with you (of which I wrote you as far back as *July* 15!). Please observe the rules so that we should always know in any important affair that the letter will reach us. The address you used last time is one of the best: make use of it.

Collect cash. We have now been reduced almost to beggary, and it is a question of life or death for us to obtain a large sum. We shall send you *Zarya* in a few days. So do everything you can about finance.*

How do matters stand with the doctor's group?[72] Last summer, their representative behaved in a way that was equivalent to a rupture (he made some idiotic demands on us)—but later a member of his group renewed contact with our representative in Berlin.[73] Get some sense out of them: are they willing to help us or not?

Send us an address for delivering a suitcase,[74] and a more reliable one for letters and books.

Yours,
Starik

What about the Finnish routes[75]? We know nothing, and have not had a single letter from you about this. Please, repeat.

* The money can be sent through a bank by cheque, in a registered letter addressed to Carl Lehmann (the third letter is a German *h*), M.D., Gabelsbergerstrasse 20a. Keep this address in mind: it is good for cash, and for letters and books.

If the bearers of a suitcase have no letter from the organisation, then you should not talk freely with them about *anything at all*.

Sent from Munich to Berlin

First Published in 1928
in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the original

TO V. P. NOGIN

April 6, 1901

Alexei and I have just received your letter about *Zarya*. Many thanks for your detailed and frank opinion; we find such comments all the more valuable because they are so rare. What you say about the inadequacy of the political reviews and articles in *Zarya* is perfectly justified. We fully realise this inadequacy, and will do everything to put it right.

With best wishes,

Yours ....

Sent from Munich to London

First Published in 1928 in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the original

TO KARL H. BRANTING[76]

April 19, 1901

Dear Comrade,

Our comrade in Berlin has already written you on our behalf that we should like to establish closer contacts with the Swedish and Finnish comrades.

Allow me, at this time, to make the following request on behalf of the editorial board of the Russian Social-Democratic journal *Zarya* (J. H. W. Dietz Verlag. Stuttgart).

We attach very great importance to informing the Russians in general, and the Russian workers in particular, of the political situation in Finland and the oppression of Finland, and also of the stubborn struggle waged by the Finns against despotism. We should therefore be most grateful to you if you transmitted to all the Finnish comrades you know our urgent request to support us in this undertaking.

It would of course be particularly helpful for us if we could find a permanent Finnish contributor who would send us, firstly, monthly notes (4,000-8,000 letters), and, secondly, longer articles and reviews from time to time. We need the latter for *Zarya* and the former for the illegal Russian paper *Iskra*, whose editorial board has made this request of us.

If you think it useful, I will send you *Zarya* and two issues of *Iskra*.

The articles may be written also in Swedish or in Finnish; we shall find a translator ourselves.

I beg you to inform me whether you can comply with our request.

With Social-Democratic greetings,

I. Petrov

P.S. Please excuse my extremely bad German.
My address is as follows:
Herrn J. H. W. Dietz Verlag.
Furthbachstr. 12.
Stuttgart.
On the inner envelope:
An die Redaktion der Morgenröte—für Herrn Petroff.

Sent from Munich to Stockholm

First published in Swedish
on March 8, 1955
in the newspaper *Morgon-Tidningen*
No. 65

Printed from the original
Translated from the German

TO G. V. PLEKHANOV

April 21, 1901

Dear G. V.,

We are very glad that your adventure ended satisfactorily.[77] We are expecting you: we need to have a talk about a great deal, both on literary and on organisational subjects, and about *Iskra* (the third issue should be ready by May 1. Then we want straightaway to print No. 4), and about *Zarya*. You have the address for calling—Velika Dmitrievna's. Here is another (Alexei's) just in case: Occamstr. (in Schwabing) 1a, III, rechts bei Frau Kraft, and ask for Herrn Vernet; only it would be better, when using this address, to write beforehand about your call, as otherwise you may easily not find anyone at home.

I send you *Promyshlenny Mir* Nos. 1-11. We have Frank—I will send it to you, if you need it before you come.[78]

We have only one copy of *Na Slavnom Postu*[79]: we shall order another, because there is a big demand for it.

We are in complete agreement with you about the priority of organisation over agitation at the present time. *Listok* "*Iskry*" is fairly cautious about any direct appeal—or do you consider even this dangerous[80]?

Hoping to see you soon.

Yours,
Petrov

Please bring or send *Narodnoye Khozyaistvo*.[81]

Sent from Munich to Geneva

First Published in 1928
in the miscellany *Gruppa* "*Osvobozhdeniye Truda*" No. 6

Printed from the original

TO M. G. VECHESLOV

For Yuriev

April 25

I have received your letter.

Please send us as soon as you can an exact account of how many suitcases you have received and of what kind, how many have gone and how many remain. We need this to draw up our report and financial accounts. As regards the literature, I have also long been asking you to write how much you received, and what in particular, where you sent it and how it was used.

We have *not* got the May Day leaflet (N.B.).

The money (100 marks) has already been sent; I repeat my request that you make an extra effort to obtain money in Berlin and elsewhere for the suitcases; you will thereby be giving us the most serious and essential help. How much money of your own have you in hand? What is the average (and actual) monthly turnover?

It would be very important to send *Kharkov Days* as soon as possible to the South, where they are pressing for it.

I have not quite understood you about the bulletin. (1) Is it the *Iskra* Promotion Group or the Neutral Group that wants to publish it?[82] (2) Are the bulletins to be the same as before or different? We think that it would be extremely unwise to spend money on bulletins of the old type and, for our part, find it difficult to promise raw material, for the reason that we are working intensively at present on turning *Iskra* into a monthly paper,[83] and we have neither the time nor the money for copying and sending

out material. What we have to think of is not dividing up the available material into bulletins, and weakening both its importance and impression by circulating it in a raw state abroad, but, on the contrary, concentrating all the material in *Iskra* and accelerating its publication with well-edited and illuminated material. Any other tactics would mean not a struggle against, but a promotion of, the present ideological vacillation and confusion.

It is not surprising that such bulletins were published by the Neutral Group, with its absurd composition and programme, but we should expect more co-operation and rational work from the *Iskra* Promotion Group. Try and pass on these views to your group (but do not read my letter in full, because I am writing to you personally) and persuade it. Let us know its decision.

Bulletins reviewing the foreign press on Russia are a different matter. They are of course useful. Send us cuttings from the Russian papers. Would it also be possible to supply the *Iskra* editorial board with Russian journals, after they have been read in Berlin? If it would, let us know what journals we could count on (we have some, but not enough).

Written on April 25, 1901
Sent from Munich to Berlin

First Published in 1928
in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the original

TO S. I. RADCHENKO

We have received your letter. We fully approve of your method of distributing the literature, and advise you to keep strictly to it, without listening to anyone's advice or calumny.

One thing that is desirable is that you should show some consideration for the *Sotsialist group*,[84] and, in case of need, give them some privileges (for example, credit), because they are seeking to come closer to us, and promise to agitate for us. They have offered us a share of their income instead of payment for literature; *we authorise you* to accept this, at *your* discretion, if you find it *not unprofitable* financially. (Why do the *Sotsialist* group complain that *you don't give them* any literature?)

In general, don't give away anything free, but distribute everything as quickly *as possible* for cash.

Don't give any money to Grigoryev, send it all to us. Grigoryev should make money on his own literature, of which he has a lot.

Number 3 is being printed, and the fourth is to follow immediately. A May Day leaflet and a special *Iskra* leaflet have appeared.[85]

Do everything you can to have people sent *to Berlin* to collect the suitcases (the *address is*).* The password is: *from Petrov*.

If you still have some 100-200 of *Kharkov Days*, send them immediately *by hand* to....

Contact Pskov. We shall be sending the suitcases to Lepeshinsky, and you can collect them from him.

Written at the end of April 1901
Sent from Munich to St. Petersburg

First published in 1928 in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the original

* A blank space in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

TO P. N. LEPESHINSKY AND P. A. KRASIKOV

2a 3b—r——[86]

June 1, 1901

We should be very glad to work together with —r——. He would be particularly useful at this time of wobbling among the public in general, and of all kinds of intrigues abroad in particular. Unfortunately, our financial position is very bad, and we are absolutely unable to allocate any money for his journey and his living expenses. It is also extremely difficult to find paid employment here (we say nothing of France and French Switzerland, because we don't know them. —r—— himself is better informed about this than we are). Only in one case could we give some financial support: if —r—— were to undertake to go abroad, get a French passport here and use it to cross the frontier two or three times in various places, taking across a couple of suitcases each time. We have to pay for such transport anyway, and should of course pay him more willingly than some outsider. With his knowledge of the language and his resourcefulness, he would certainly be able to do it, and might find someone else on the way for the same purpose. If he is agreeable, let him write at once—you will read him the whole of this letter—and tell us his distinguishing features in as great detail as possible. On the strength of these features we shall then immediately apply for a French passport, and on receipt of it will let him know, so that he can start out. In general, our cause now hinges on transport, transport and transport. Whoever wants to help us should *entirely* concentrate on this.

Now about the 125 rubles. We have been repeatedly caught out over advances to other organisations: we have given away a pile of money, and the result has been insignificant, *almost nil*. Therefore we are very much afraid of paying in advance. Furthermore, it is more important for us to have swift delivery of a small quantity (if only half a pood *a month*) than of 10-20 poods over 3-4 months, because our first priority is *Iskra*'s monthly publication and delivery. Up to now suitcases virtually alone have kept us going. So have as detailed a discussion as possible to find out whether the offer is reliable, which organisation is making it, the type of transport, and whether we could have our own man in there for supervision and participation, and then let us know. If they agree to have a trial run without payment in advance, take the decision yourselves. But if we are to hand over a sizable sum immediately, we shall have to consider and discuss *all* the particulars very thoroughly.

Sent from Munich to Pskov

First published in 1928 in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the original

TO P. B. AXELROD

June 1, 1901

Dear P. B.,

We have just received your letter with the materials and letters of Deb.*[87] enclosed. Many thanks; we shall have to sort out the material.

As regards Deb.'s proposal, we agree of course to let him have 300 offprints, and we hope that his reservations will not present the slightest obstacle to our printing his reminiscences. The deadline for No. 2 of *Zarya* is one month, i.e., July 1. The maximum length is 2 sheets, or 2½ at the outside. We hope that he will divide up his 4-5 sheets into chapters, so that they will fit into No. 2 and No. 3 of *Zarya*.

We know nothing as yet about the conference.[88] Please persuade Koltsov and someone else from *Sotsial-Demokrat* to agree. After all, this does not commit anyone to anything, but it removes from us the odium of being unwilling to stop the dissension. We really are not inclined to make any substantial concessions either to *Borba* or to *Rabocheye Dyelo* (how feeble No. 7 of its *Listok* is[89]! We have already left it behind even technically, in speed of coverage).

No. 5 of *Iskra* is at the press. The leading article is "About Vacuous Dreams" (by Starover). A feature article by G. V., "New Wine in Old Bottles", is about the manifesto of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and their turn towards the Social-Democrats. Then one (or even two) short articles on the massacre of May 4-7 in St. Petersburg (in Vyborgskaya Storona and at the Obukhov Works). There is also some pretty good material for the social chronicle and the labour

* We shall, of course, preserve his letter.

movement section, and also for the "May Day in Russia" section—for instance, a vivid letter from a St. Petersburg working woman about the killing on May 4 of a workman (her relative) in the crowd marching to Nevsky Prospekt.[90] There is a letter from our close friend, a worker at Ivanovo-Voznesensk.[91] about the feeling there, the attempts to celebrate May Day and the success of *Iskra*.

Only the financial side is in a bad way; all the rest is going well, with promise for the future.

How is your health? Is it easier for you now in your *Erwerbsarbeit**? Do you get enough rest? How do you intend to spend the summer?

Very best wishes to you and all your family.

Yours,
Petrov

Sent from Munich to Zurich

First published in 1925 in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Printed from the original

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* Work for a living.—*Ed.*

TO M. G. VECHESLOV

June 17, 1901

We have received your letter asking us to send you 100 marks. Unfortunately, I cannot fulfil this request until I have received from you the "latest information" which you promised. I simply cannot take it on myself to decide to pay out this sum (both for formal reasons, because it depends on the board, and for the reasons I explained to you when we met), and I cannot get the board together at present because some people are absent. I ask you once again not to be sparing of reports to us of the latest and most detailed facts, otherwise our relations will *never* settle down to normal. Information of the kind that "so far everything is satisfactory" may produce, if anything, a negative impression on our board, which decides such matters. I understand very well that the most energetic efforts often prove fruitless for reasons beyond our control, and that it would be stupid to blame you for any failures. But you, too, must understand that unless we have the most circumstantial and exact information of what those efforts were, what exactly was successful (*respective** unsuccessful), why precisely and what the state of affairs and the plans at the present moment are, we *cannot* take any further steps and impose on our principals further sacrifices, for which *we* bear the responsibility.

Sent from Munich to Berlin

First published in 1928
in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from a copy
written by N. K. Krupskaya

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* Or.—*Ed.*

TO P. B. AXELROD

June 9, 1901

Dear P. B.,

I enclose Nevzorov's article, which we have rejected.[92] Just have a look at this thing (I heard you were interested in it), and when you have read it, please send it on at once to G. V., who is also interested in the Parisians. We think it is essential to keep a copy, as a document.

We are having No. 6 of *Iskra* set up—it will probably be 6 pages, because there is a good deal of material in the social chronicle and on the labour movement. For the second number of *Zarya* we have sent (1) G. V.'s leading article, "What Next?", and (2) L. I.'s article, "Why We Don't Want to Go Backwards", signed Orthodox. Then Arsenyev and Velika Dmitrievna are writing articles, and there's a paper by Alexei (what did you think of it? Velika D. was dissatisfied). I have written a little article on Witte's minute and the preface to it, and have of course damned Mr. R. N. S.[93]—Velika Dmitrievna is very much displeased, and I shall have to send the article to G. V., etc.: this Mr. R. N. S. is a sore point!

How is your work going, and how is your health? Will you have a long holiday this year, and where do you intend to spend it? I should very, very much like you to look in here and have a talk about various things—but I am afraid of inviting you lest, instead of relating, you put more strain on your nerves. If this does not frighten you, do come.

They have written to us from Russia that there is increasing talk of a congress. This once again impels us to think of a programme. The publication of a draft programme is *extremely* necessary, and would be of tremendous impor-

tance.[94] But apart from you and G. V. there is no one to take it on: it's a job that requires calm concentration and careful consideration. Please come to our help, provided your affairs and your health permit. Or perhaps you will see G. V. and spend some time with him—you could then take advantage of such a stay?

Kautsky passed through here (on his way for a holiday in Tyrol), but we forgot to talk with him about the Erfurter Programm (which Alexei is now looking through). Has he promised a special introduction?

What were the books about which you told Alexei's sister that they had been sent?

We can't be too sure about the foreign affairs review for *Zarya*: Parvus wants to write only about organisation, Luxemburg and Danevich will (perhaps) give us something on France, and *nothing* else, neither on Germany nor Austria. That's bad!

Well, until later. Forgive me for writing so rarely; I have very little time left in the local hurly-burly. The Londoners[95] are here at the moment; I like them. What do you think of them?

Very best wishes to you and all your family. Yours....

Leiteisen's address is: 52, Faubourg du Temple. *Mr. Gouman. Paris*; on the inner envelope: pour Mr. Basile.

[We shall have to wait a little with reprinting the first issue of *Iskra*: the matter of the one *thousand* copies that have been preserved, as it turns out, and of the attempt now being made to transport them will soon be cleared up.]

The note on Adler will still be in time for *Iskra* No. 6,[96] if it arrives not later than in a week.

I write nothing about the draft agreement with the Union: there is nothing new, and you must know the old situation from Alexei's sister.

Sent from Munich to Zurich

First published in 1925 in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Printed from the original

TO G. V. PLEKHANOV

July 13, 1901

I have received your letter of the 11th. As regards Orthodox's P. Scriptum,[97] the majority opinion is being set forth to you today by Alexei. I disagree with this opinion, and I (personally) would like to know your view, both of this P.S. in particular, and of the opinion likewise that it could supposedly be rejected after the adoption of the whole article, owing to the "literary defects" in the P. Scriptum. The "rescue" of the P.S., about which you write, may be possible if there is a resolute vote by Pavel Borisovich *for*, and even then not for certain: the votes will be equally divided, for Alexei, is now almost entirely against.

Generally speaking, I think that on any matter in any way relating to "controversial" points, you ought to make a direct inquiry about the reasons for the opinions expressed by our *Struvefreundliche*[98] this could be done by letters addressed to Lehmann as before (altogether, letters should now be addressed through to *Lehmann*) with an addition "für Meyer" *and* "for Puttman" I'm afraid I simply cannot undertake to give an account of their views. This applies also, for instance, to my article against R. N. S.[99]

Many thanks for the offer to send material against Chernov. I have just got on to him, and could probably find use for what bears on France and Belgium (Vandervelde et Destrée, *Le socialisme en Belgique*,* quoted by Chernov, and also Vandervelde's latest work[100]). But send it only if you don't need it, and if you can do without it for a few weeks. I very much need to have Liebknecht's *Zur Grund-*

* *Socialism in Belgium.—Ed.*

und Bodenfrage,* which I have failed to find here, either among Parvus's books or at the library. If you do have it, please send it along for a short time.

Chernov quotes someone called Gerolamo Gatti, who is a downright opponent of the Marxists: *Le nuove correnti dell'economia agricola* (Milano-Palermo, 1900).** Do you know what sort of bird this is? Is he worth reading? Is there a French translation? (I don't know Italian, though perhaps my sister could help.)

Very best wishes. Write about my article.

Yours,
Petrov

Sent from Munich to Geneva

First published in 1956 in *Kommunist* No. 16

Printed from the original

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* *On the Agrarian Question.—Ed.*

** Gerolamo Gatti, *Agricoltura e socialismo. Le nuove correnti dell'cconomia agricola* (The Agrarian Question and Socialism. New Trends in Agriculture).—*Ed.*

TO P. B. AXELROD

July 21, 1901

Dear P. B.,

I was intending to reply to your letter, but kept putting it off until I received the article. Don't be in any particular hurry with it, if it is hard work, or even give up reading it altogether, to give yourself a rest and have some proper treatment. G. V. has already written to me in considerable detail where he sees changes desirable, and I shall of course try to make *all* these changes[101] (but as to changing the *tone* ... I really don't know whether I can do that. It is hardly likely that I can write in diplomatic tones about a gentleman who arouses such violent feelings in me. And I don't think G. V. is quite right when he says that my "hatred" will be incomprehensible for the reader: I will quote the example of Parvus, who, without any knowledge of the author, after reading the introduction felt the same hostility to this "dolt", as he called him—but that is in parenthesis). I very much disapproved of our having imposed two jobs on you (reading my article and Orthodox's) just when you had gone away for treatment and a rest. Try rather to make really good use of the period of your treatment, and do not by any means burden yourself with a close reading of the manuscripts.

Please, write (and send manuscripts and everything else) *only* to the following address:

Herrn Dr. Med. Carl Lehmann.
Gabelsbergerstrasse 20 a/II.
München (inside: *für Meyer*).

The Rittmeyer address is *no longer good* (but if you have

sent something to Rittmeyer before receiving this letter, we shall still get it).

Do you happen to have Liebknecht's book *Zur Grund- und Bodenfrage* (Leipzig 1876)? Or perhaps one of the Zurich comrades has it? I *need* it *very much* for an article against Chernov, and it is not available at the library here, nor has Parvus or Lehmann got it.

Well, so long. I wish you the very best, and hope you have a good rest and are *thoroughly* fit again.

Yours,
Petrov

P.S. Here's another request: do you (or Greulich) happen to have the *minutes of the congresses of the International* —or *Vorbote*[102] (which, I believe, carried the full reports)? This Chernov fellow keeps worrying me: I do believe the scoundrel has *distorted* things in referring to the minutes of the congresses of the International, and putting down as "dogmatic Marxism" even the "solidarised communities" (of Rittinghausen).[103] If you could help me with this material, I should be very grateful.

[But if you have to go to a lot of trouble to find these references, *don't do it*, *please*: I shall manage somehow.]

Here's yet another request (I feel that I'm making a hog of myself—piling up request upon request—but it's hard to stop once you've started. But *really*, if you have to go to a lot of trouble, like travelling about in search of the books, etc., let it go, and "shelve" my applications. I'll manage somehow. I shall make mincemeat of Chernov in any case). The fact is that the swine Chernov quotes Engels's article, "The German Peasant" (in *Russkoye Bogatstvo*, 1900, No. 1). When I found the article I discovered that it was a translation of Engels's article "*Die Mark*" (*Anhang** to the pamphlet, *Die Entwicklung des Sozialismus von der Utopie zur Wissenschaft*)[104] (I've only got the 4th edition of the pamphlet, 1891), but at the end of the translated text there is an addition of *two tirades in Russian which the original does not have* and which contain highly dubious statements: "restore (sic!) the mark", etc.

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* Addendum.—*Ed.*

I wonder what that is: a distortion by *Russkoye Bogatstvo*? In which case they ought to be pilloried good and proper. But first we must look at this from every side: a footnote to the Russian article says that Engels's article "appeared in one of the German magazines in the 1880s, without his signature. But the offprint which Engels sent to one of his friends was signed with his initials". (1) Have you any idea which "German magazine" it is? Could it be *Neue Zeit*? (2) Do you happen to have an early edition of the pamphlet *Die Entwicklung des Sozialismus von der Utopie*, *etc.*, with the "*Die Mark*" *Anhang*? It is necessary to make a collation to find out whether the early editions contained the tirades the 4th edition does not have (although this is very unlikely).

Then I need for the purposes of comparison the pamphlet: W. Wolff, *Die schlesische Milliarde*,[105] which I was unable to find at the local library and which is not available at the *Vorwärts Buchhandlung** either—it's been sold out.

Sent from Munich to Zurich

First published in 1925
in *Lenin Miscellany III*

First published in full
in the Firth Russian Edition
of the *Collected Works*

Printed from the original

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* Bookshop.—*Ed.*

TO P. B. AXELROD

August 24, 1901

Dear P. B.,

I enclose Nevzorov's article which he has rewritten. It has confronted us with this dilemma: either to publish it in *Zarya*, or to reject it altogether. The votes are divided equally (Alexei and Arsenyev, *for*; Velika Dmitrievna and I, against). Please cast your vote. I must say that I am particularly exasperated by the fact that everyone (even Arsenyev!) says the article is "vile", "treacherous" (as G. V. has also called it), but they keep talking of printing it! To my mind, this is the worst tactics of indulgence and connivance. They say in defence of the article: "It's a contributor's letter to the editorial board. It's *awkward* to reject it." In my opinion, once a contributor adopts that *kind* of attitude, we are in duty bound to put an end to it. Let him go to *Rabocheye Dyelo* and Godspeed (Nevzorov even wrote to ask us if we had any objections to it!? Sic!)—that will help us to "document" his figure much better, and take him to pieces much more freely than in our *Zarya*. (One of the arguments *for* was that it should be printed to provide the occasion for replying to the widespread arguments.)

And so, it's up to you to decide the issue!

And how about Finn's article? If it's a good one (as you wrote), shouldn't we publish it in *Zarya*? Will you send it to us?

How is your health? I heard that you were not far from Thun, but I hope the letter will be readdressed.

When do you expect to visit G. V.? We rely on you very much as regards the programme.

Well, so long. Hope you will be fit soon, and all the best.

Yours,
Petrov

Number seven of *Iskra* will appear in a day or two. G. V.'s article (the second against Struve) has been sent to *Zarya*. Then there will be articles by Nevzorov, Alexei, Velika Dmitrievna and Arsenyev; one on the agrarian question (which I am writing)[106] and one by G. V. against Bernstein (a review of the Russian translation of his book). There is no review of foreign affairs. Perhaps Danevich will write one? He has already sent in a second letter for *Iskra* (it will go into No. 8).

Sent from Munich
to Heiligenschwende
(near Thun, Switzerland)

First published in 1925
in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Printed from the original

TO P. B. AXELROD

August 30, 1901

Dear P. B.,

I received your letter today, and today also sent off the proofs of my article[107] to Dietz. I have made the change you suggested—at the end, separating the liberals from the revolutionaries who had been designated together as "we". But as regards the "providential slip", I could do nothing about it: alteration of this passage would have required much too extensive changes; besides, the spirit of the whole article makes it impossible to alter it in the sense of eliminating the "one-sidedness" (you are right, of course, that the presentation is "one-sided": how could one observe a judicious balance in a polemical article devoted to an attack on one of the flanks of our opponents! What I mean is that it's not that I don't see the *defect* here but that it lies too deep to be eliminated by one particular alteration).

We have been receiving all your letters. As regards my sister, I don't know how matters stand, because I haven't heard from her for quite a long time.

You have, of course, received Alexei's letter describing the obstacle to the congress[108]? We shall wait and see how you and Danevich decide this matter.

The seventh issue[109] has appeared, and has of course been sent to you. In the eighth, there will be Ryazanov's article, "The Imperial Drink Shop" (on the vodka monopoly); then we anticipate an article on the new law (of June 8) on land grants to nobles in Siberia.[110] In the social chronicle, there are reports on the liberals' congress, the disgraceful treatment of exiles in Siberia, the deep unrest in

out-of-the-way places like Kursk, and about the revolt of seminary and gymnasium students. We also have a very interesting article by a worker—a reply to Dadonov, who abused the Ivanovo-Voznesensk workers in *Russkoye Bogatstvo*.[111] It's a very good article, they say (I haven't read it yet), so that we don't know where it should be best printed, in *Iskra* or in *Zarya*. In No. 8 of *Iskra*, there is a letter by Danevich from France.

We still have no foreign review for *Zarya*! Nor are we likely to have one on home affairs either.[112] It's a misfortune! Meanwhile, *Zarya* is getting fatter and fatter. We already have 6 sheets+4 (Plekhanov's "Critique")+2 (him again, against Bernstein)+2 (Nevzorov+Alexei)+2 or 3 (Velika Dmitrievna and Starover).... As for me, I'm bogged down in the agrarian question.

Well, I hope we shall soon meet.

All the best,
Yours,
Petrov

Sent from Munich
to Heiligenschwende

First published in 1925
in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Printed from the original

TO E. L. GUREVICH

November 3, 1901

Dear Comrade,

You told us, in our talk here before the departure, that however our relations developed—and even if we went our several ways—you would in any case remain a contributor to our publications. After that we repeated to each other, even after the sad outcome of our negotiations on organisation,[113] that we did not in any way "declare war on each other", and remained political allies albeit temporarily treading our different ways.

We hope, therefore, that you will continue to send your letters from France to *Iskra*. To our regret, we have not been able to get a definite reply to this question from the member of your group here. Please, let us know whether or not you intend to co-operate with us in the future.

You know, of course, how much we value your literary co-operation, and if today, after the formation of the League, the organisational relations between ourselves and your group have become more complicated, there are no obstacles to closer literary collaboration on our part, in any case. We should welcome it.

With comradely greetings....

P.S. From what Ryazanov said I have drawn the conclusion that my words about the possible effect of our differences on the literary agreement were misunderstood. All I had in mind was the pamphlets agreement (the League has set up a special board of pamphlet editors); but the

foundation of the League has not affected the purely literary relations between the editorial board of *Zarya* and *Iskra* and their contributors.

Sent from Munich to Paris
First Published in 1928
in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from a copy
written
by N. K. Krupskaya

TO LYUBOV AXELROD

November 27, 1901

Dear L. I.,

Thank you for your book which V. Iv. has shown me. I very much regret that I have not yet been able to start reading it: first, I have lately been very busy with a pamphlet (against *Rabocheye Dyelo*),[114] and, secondly, I am once again going down with some "undetermined" illness. The work is at a standstill, and I don't know how soon I shall be able to get down to it again! And it's urgent work.

As regards a recommendation to Popova, to my deep regret I am quite unsuitable for this. I don't know and never have known Popova personally. I dealt with her *only through Struve* (and, you will understand, it's quite out of the question to ask him to recommend your book. Yet he is editorial manager of Popova's publications!). If I were to apply to Popova, therefore, the result would be sooner negative than otherwise.

But even that is not all. I recently wrote (a month or six weeks ago) to Popova *for the first time*, asking her to send me a copy of the second volume of the Webbs, the translation of which I edited and which has only just been published.[115] Up to this day I have neither reply nor book!

I once had what you might call a "friendly" correspondence with Vodovozova. But she *has not replied at all* to my last letter to her (a *business one*, written last spring!). As you see, there again I am no use at all.

You will have either to look for someone with better connections in literary and publishing circles, or to apply directly to several publishers enclosing your book. [Per-

haps Filippov could help you? After all, he has printed something of yours! My relations with him have been broken off.]

Berg will write to you or have a personal talk with you: he wants to go soon.

Best wishes,

Yours,

Frey

Sent from Munich to Berne

First published in 1929 in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

TO G. V. PLEKHANOV

December 1, 1901

I have read, dear G. V., your letter about Finn's article. You have proved much stricter. It seemed to me that the article was not a bad one. But your arguments have fully convinced me, and I agree to the amputation. I have *already spoken* to the author about the need for some changes and cuts. He did not resist absolutely, but expressed the "wish" that the cuts should not be too heavy, as otherwise, he said, he would find someone else to publish the article.

We shall try to write to the author: we have the address, but it's not very convenient to write.

However, I *will not undertake* to correct the article. That will have to be your job, if the decision is to carry it.

Best wishes,

Yours,

Frey

Your criticism of Finn's article has made me think again of how poor *Iskra*'s economic section is, a fact you spoke of at Zurich. Why don't you send us anything for this section? It would be so important to have anything from notes of half a column (4,000 letters, 4-6 of your pages) about current events like the co-operative congress, new data about syndicates, economic reviews in *The Economist*, major strikes, fresh statistical data, etc., etc., to articles of 1½-2 columns, or feature articles up to 20-25 thousand letters (up to 30 of your pages)! You seem to be more in touch with economic literature than anyone else, so it would

be easiest for you to draw up such notes, even occasionally! Do try and help us, or *Iskra* will become monotonous. Of course I would not even dream of distracting you from your work on the programme, which is *urgently* needed and has first priority; but it would be possible to write small notes and little articles in between, about the new issues of economic journals, etc.

Iskra's historical section is also weak: feature articles telling about the European revolutions, and so forth. I think that here we could even translate. Please send us suitable material; you once said you had something in view.

Yours,
Frey

I am still unwell, and "struggling" with the pamphlet against *Rabocheye Dyelo*, which is advancing almost in crab-like fashion.

Sent from Munich to Geneva

First published in 1925 in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Printed from the original

TO G. V. PLEKHANOV

December 19, 1901

Dear G. V.,

I have just received your letter of the 17th, and am replying at once. I replied to you *over a week* ago about the trip to Brussels,[116] sending the long letter to P. B. (since it also included the plan for No. 4 of *Zarya*) with a request to send it on to you *immediately*. If the letter has not been lost, it is a scandal that he has delayed it! I am writing to him immediately.

I support Alexei's opinion that you *must* go. Krichevsky can do us harm—and now that the *decisive* struggle is beginning, we should keep an eye on him. We won't be able to get along with them.

I am sending you 230 marks: 80 marks = 100 francs for the International Bureau, and 150 marks for the trip. Will that be enough?

Take a *circular ticket* (the period is 2 months) with a break at Munich (if it's imprudent to do so from Geneva, order it in Zurich). At Zurich persuade P. B. to come too. Then we shall all be together at the beginning of January, and shall *have done* both with the programme (this is important) and with No. 4 of *Zarya*, etc.

I am expecting *Zarya* any day now. I already sent P. B. its contents in that letter.

Write a little report or a note for *Iskra* on the sessions of the International Secretariat.

Every good wish,

Yours,

Frey

Reply whether you will be here.

Sent from Munich to Geneva

First published in 1925 in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Printed from the original

TO L. I. GOLDMAN

... I have always said that the distribution of functions tends to resolve of itself: over here, the literature is published, articles are written for the paper, etc. In Russia, the literature is distributed and contacts are established. Transport is handled by special persons, appointed by mutual agreement of those here and there, and connected with both sides. Such is the ideal....

... We have long been concerned over the fact that organisation in Russia (a matter of first-rate importance) has been making such slow headway, and, you will recall, we even sent you a "plan" last summer[117] (unfortunately we have not kept a copy of the letter elaborating the "plan"). But you replied: "We have no men." You now seem to have found it possible to get down to this, and we are all ready, of course, to help all of you, if it depends on us. But our role here is quite a subordinate one. You are connected with X. Y. Z.[118]; consequently, all the "sources" of literature are within your reach. Establish contacts with one another, and turn these sources to use; if you find people who are suitable and have earned your complete confidence, make up a management committee from among them by joint agreement and we shall of course write to everyone we can to have them abide by the committee's instructions. What is essential though is that the management committee should *without fail* have in view the whole of Russia, and not by any means one district only, because *Iskra*'s whole future depends on whether it will be able to overcome local rule-of-thumb work and district separateness, and become an all-Russia paper *in practice*....

Written in December 1901
Sent from Munich to Kishinev

First published in 1928
in "Doklad organizatsii 'Iskry'
vtoromu syezdu R.S.D.R.P."
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolutsia* No. 1

Printed from the original
of the "Doklad..."
in N. K. Krupskaya's
handwriting

1902

TO LYUBOV AXELROD

February 18, 1902

Dear L. I.,

In reply to your letter, I hasten to tell you that the articles by Struve and Bulgakov appeared in the *May 1897* issue of *Novoye Slovo* (No. 8, according to their special numbering).[119]

We are very glad that you will be finishing the article soon—please send the articles of Struve and Bulgakov along with it.

Have you made any use of the articles by Vl. Chernov in the latest issues of *Russkoye Bogatstvo* on the subjective method, Berdayev, etc.? What a good thing it would be to devote even a few lines to giving this chatterbox a dressing down! In No. 2 (February) of *Sozialistische Monatshefte*[120] someone called Lozinsky also tries to bury materialism and extols Berdayev.

We hear from Vologda (where Berdayev and Bogdanov are doing time) that the exiles there engage in earnest discussions of philosophy, and that Berdayev, as the one who knows most about it, appears to be "winning".

Every good wish,

Yours....

Sent from Munich to Berne

First published in 1929 in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

TO P. B. AXELROD

March 22, 1902

Dear P. B.,

How is your health after your journey? Have you recovered from the life of a wanderer, and from the "reaction" you expected when you were going away?

Velika Dmitrievna sent you G. V.'s programme and our scheme for a "settlement in committee",[121] through a committee of arbitration *sui generis*. This scheme *seems* to be falling through because of G. V.'s unwillingness, but I don't yet know this for certain. I should like to know your impression of G. V.'s new draft and which of the two drafts you now favour.

The copying of your pamphlet[122] has *only just* been started: up to now the copyist was busy with copying for *Iskra* (with Tsvetov away, *Iskra* has been making very slow headway: only one issue will appear in March). Evidently delay is inevitable if your pamphlet is to be published here; but if you are very much opposed to this, let me know, and we may then send it on to Geneva. If speed is not so important for you, then as soon as the copying is finished and Tsvetov returns, the pamphlet will be sent to the printers.

A few more words about the programme. We consider it very undesirable to put it up for a vote by the *whole* League (instead of the editorial board alone), *respective** have a discussion in the press among ourselves (although this will not be easy to avoid if the attempt to reach agreement fails). What is your opinion?

All the very best wishes for your health.

Yours....

Sent from Munich to Zurich

First published in 1924 in *Lenin Miscellany II*

Printed from the original

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* Or.—*Ed.*

TO P. B. AXELROD

March 27, 1902

Dear P. B.,

I have just received your letter, and hasten to reply. I very much like your idea of printing the article in *Zarya*, instead of as a pamphlet (a supplement to *Iskra*), both in general and in particular, on account of our plans for moving to London (Yevgeny is writing to you about it).[123] About half of your article is already copied, and I shall send it to you directly it is finished: the work of copying is going ahead quickly now. It will be a fine thing to have a magazine-type article in *Zarya*. As for the changes that may be required on account of the letter being addressed "to *Iskra*", they will be insignificant.

No one, so far as I am aware, has begun or intends to write any review on *Kanun revolutsii*.[124] Therefore please do write it: what we are short of in *Zarya* is reviews.

As for the programme, I will send you my comments on G. V.'s draft in a few days (my sick friend now has them)[125]; I showed them to my friends here, and they persuaded me not to send them to G. V., in view of the proposals which had been made for an "arbitration or conciliation" committee. But I would be very happy to send them to you personally to show you my *Bedenken** set forth therein systematically. As regards our meeting,[126] however, I don't think it could bring matters to a satisfactory conclusion just *at present*. I don't know what the whole board will decide (we shall be acquainting it with your plan this very day), but I personally very much fear that in the absence

* Considerations.—*Ed.*

of an already prepared third draft, *in the absence of a new make-up of those voting*, in the absence of any *firm* agreement on how to vote, who is to vote and *what significance is to be attached to the voting*, our Zurich meeting would once again be inconclusive. And you are a thousand times right about the importance of issuing a programme.

Have you seen *Borba*'s *Kalendar*[127]? How did you like it?

No. *4* of *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya*[128] has appeared. That's hard work!

Forgive me for the brevity and hastiness of this letter. I am in a great hurry.

Yours....

Sent from Munich to Zurich

First published in 1924 in *Lenin Miscellany II*

Printed from the original

TO A. A. BOGDANOV

Dear Comrades,

We are very glad about your proposal for the publication of pamphlets. There is, in fact, a certain lack of pamphlets, and we could easily publish them in any quantity. (As regards transport, we cannot at the moment *guarantee* regular delivery *en masse*, but we hope that this too will be constantly improving.) However we beg you not to insist on the stipulation that pamphlets should be accepted or rejected *en bloc*, without any partial changes at all. This stipulation is extremely inconvenient, and will hold up everything terribly. Take the very first article sent to us, about organisation (the technical problems of organisation). In the general opinion of the editorial board, this article (interesting and valuable though it is) *cannot appear in this shape*, because it contains quite inappropriate and tactless remarks (like "one-man rule" and "dictatorship by one member of the committee", etc.); and there are also minor defects requiring correction. Yet an agreement about such changes, not particularly essential from the author's standpoint (but unquestionably necessary), could be reached without any difficulty at all. Think this over well, and don't hold up an important undertaking out of a desire to impose particularly restrictive conditions on us.

We repeat that the article is, on the whole, practical and valuable; in general, we are even *prepared* to agree to the stipulation that articles should be accepted or rejected as a whole, without partial corrections. But, then, under this, stipulation, we should be *obliged* to reject your very first article, and that would be harmful to the cause. After all, it would surely be possible to come to an agreement

with the author about any *partial* corrections. Why don't you try and let us make these corrections by way of experiment? If you like we shall write to you in greater detail about what precisely should be changed.

Written between March 28 and April 19, 1902
Sent from London to Vologda

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

TO F. V. LENGNIK

And so your task now is to turn *yourself* into a committee for preparing the congress,[129] to accept the Bundist into this committee (after assessing him *from every angle*—this N.B.!), and to push your own people through into the largest number of committees possible, safeguarding yourself and your people more than the apple of your eye, until the congress. Remember: all this is of the utmost importance! Be bolder, more pushy and more inventive in this respect, and in all others, as discreet and as careful as possible.

Wise as serpents—and (with the committees: the Bund[130] and St. Petersburg) harmless as doves.

Yours ever,
Starik

Written on May 23, 1902
Sent from London to Samara

First published in 1928
in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the original

TO I. I. RADCHENKO

We have just given the *Bundist* contact with you. This concerns the congress. You and he (+a bureau or someone else) must form a Russian Committee for preparing the congress. Behave *as impressively as you can* and act with *caution*. Take on yourself the greatest possible number of districts in which you undertake to prepare for the congress, refer to the bureau (giving it some other name), in a word, make sure that the whole thing is *entirely in your hands*, leaving the Bund, for the time being, confined to the Bund. We shall begin negotiations here about a rapprochement over here, and will inform you immediately.

And so, for the time being, *have in mind* the composition of a Russian Committee for Preparing the Congress which is most advantageous for us (you may find it convenient to say that you have already formed this committee, and are very glad to have the Bund *participate* or something like this). Take on yourself, *without fail*, to be secretary in this committee. These are the first steps. And then we shall see.

I say have the composition "in mind" to have as free a hand as possible: don't commit yourself to the Bund right away (you can say, for example, that connections have been established with the Volga, the Caucasus, the centre—we have a man from over there—and the South—we're sending two down there), and make yourself master of the undertaking. But do all this most carefully, without rousing objections.

Write whether your role is clear to you. Perhaps we shall yet have time to exchange letters.

Make certain to send the weekly paper *regularly* to Rögner's address: we need the most regular correspondence.

And we should like to send a special weekly: let us have as quickly as possible the address of a doctor, a technician, a cyclist, an artiste, and so on, and so forth.

Yours ever....

Written on June 22, 1902
Sent from London to St. Petersburg

First published in 1928
in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the original

TO G. V. PLEKHANOV

July 2, 1902

Dear G. V.,

Excuse my writing in such a hurry. I have come here to Brittany for a rest (I am awaiting my family here as well),[131] but in Paris Berg gave me his item, and I have received the article over the signature of Veteran which you sent.

I am completely in agreement with Veteran. On account of the note about Lekkert in *Iskra* I had a little battle with Berg and Velika Dmitrievna, who both, as usual, had an attack of nerves, and began to talk about the inevitability of terror, and the need for us to express this (in one way or another). The item in *Iskra* was thus a compromise: that was all I managed to *secure*.[132]

Now Berg himself has become more resolutely opposed to terror, even that of the Lekkerts.

But the question is whether it is all right to insert your article with the Veteran signature. *Of course*, *if you wish*, *it will certainly go in* (and there is time for it to go into the next issue)—but wouldn't it be better for you to turn it into a leading article for No. 22, combining it, so to speak, with Berg's article "How to Fight"? I enclose this article which, in my opinion, contains passages requiring corrections, passages which are undesirably evasive on the question of Lekkert.

I also enclose an item about the priest's letter. What is your opinion?

And so please reply as soon as possible, dear G. V., and send all three articles straight back to London (J. Richter, 30. Holford Sq. 30. Pentonville: London W. C.). Write to me at the same address.

I think *a leader* would be the best place to say what you do say: the substance of the matter will be brought out (the "*objection*" *to Iskra* will be smoothed out) and the integral impression will be made stronger. You will find it easy and natural to develop your article into a leader, thereby *substituting* it for the article "How to Fight". Such a substitution would, in my opinion, be the best result.

All good wishes,
Yours,
Lenin

Sent from Loguivy
(Northern France) to Geneva

First published in 1928
in the miscellany *Gruppa*
"*Osvobozhdeniye Truda*" No. 6

Printed from the original

TO NADEZHDA KRUPSKAYA

July 16, 1902

I enclose a letter to Arkady.

I received today your letter, the proofs and the money. *Merci*.

There is some damned muddle altogether about this "congress" in Switzerland.[133] Who was it (first of all) who thought of a "congress"? *Not we*. It was probably invented by B. N., who ought really to be given a good head-washing for irresponsible behaviour (his tour of Europe, his idle talk with Korenevsky about the congress, etc.); if you haven't done it already, please *give him a thorough talking to*. I was thinking of doing it myself, but I suppose you will do it better, because I am very angry.

No one is arranging a "congress": a congress requires that *everyone should be there* (whereas we know nothing for sure about Arkady and Sonya[134]). A "congress" requires some of those abroad (like Dimka, the old fellows, maybe Alexandrova and others), and *that has not even been mentioned*. No one has even been preparing a programme for a congress, and no one knows what to talk about at one: About the *Iskra* organisation in Russia? Without any delegates from that organisation itself? All of this is amazingly hasty and ill-considered!

L. Gr. himself is now postponing it "until the autumn". Will you, too, help to "blast" this "congress" nonsense? It is *essential* right away to see Lapot: he will both see the Swiss and will *himself* come and see us. What else is there? Then there's Povar, who evidently still needs some training—so let him study at Zurich: that will be excellent. Maybe he, like B. N., will remain abroad for *months*?! Why hurry

to see him, then? When he wants to go, he *himself* will have to come and see us, so there is no need to drag him over now. And what is this nonsense that B. N. and V. V. have been writing to Berg? "We can't talk except in the presence of P. B." Talk with whom? Povar? He is at P. B.'s. With the three persons? They are at P. B.'s. With Lapot? He will be visiting P. B. Advise Berg to give V. V. and B. N. a thorough bawling-out for this nonsense, and write to me what Berg thinks about it, and whether there is any hope that he himself will reply to them in a way that will discourage them from talking nonsense. Besides, P. B. himself went to Munich, and will come to London as well. No one doubts that a visit from G. V. is (*will be*) necessary.

I wrote to G. V. that I know nothing about a "congress", but that it is *essential* to have a *business-like meeting* (with Lapot and others) in London, where, of course, he also will be. If necessary, I will write to him again.

Try pressing L. Gr. *in every way* in order to dissuade him: he has no clear idea of *who* is to attend this "congress", *for what purpose* it is to be held, and *how* it is to proceed.

Yours ....

I suppose it is not necessary to return the proofs, *n'est-ce pas*?*

And what about V. I.'s article, hasn't it been set? ∫∫Please don't forget: there is a quotation from ⅡBulgakov in my agrarian article: Vol.? p.? It should not be left in this form, and if I don't return earlier, and don't see the proofs again, cross out not the whole footnote, but only the words: "Vol.—p.—".[135]

Sent from Loguivy to London

First published in 1928 in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the original

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* Isn't that so?—*Ed.*

TO I. I. RADCHENKO

A Letter to Arkady

Dear Friend,

I have read your long letter of June 6* over again, and want to add something to my previous letter.[136] I was very glad indeed to have your report of a talk with the workers. Such letters are a great rarity for us, and they really invigorate us. Be sure to pass this on to your workers, with our request that they themselves should write to us *not only for publication*, but simply to exchange ideas and not to lose contact and mutual understanding. I personally am particularly interested, in this connection, in what the workers will think of *What Is To Be Done?*, because I have not yet had any views from workers.

And so give us a direct contact with your group of workers, and also with Manya[137]: this is very important, and will very much consolidate both their closer approach to *Iskra* and your own position among them. And then, if there are really capable people among Manya's leaders, it would be a good thing for one of them to come and see us: suggest this to them and find out what they think of it.

Then there are three more points.

(1) If Vanya[138] is with us, how are you to determine your relations with him? What is your opinion? Perhaps, if Vanya and Manya are *entirely* on our side (and if they issue the statement I wrote of—this is extremely important), they could include you in their Central Committee[139] and *in addition* formally confirm you in your function for the special work of unification on an all-Russia scale (i.e., "The Central Committee authorises N. N., who is one of its members and a member of the *Iskra* organisation in Russia, an organisation with which the C.C. is in complete

* June 19, N.S.—*Ed.*

solidarity, to be in charge of work in preparation for Party unity, in the *Iskra* spirit").

Perhaps it might be varied in this way (of course I am suggesting all this only tentatively, no more): "The C.C. of the St. Petersburg Committee, expressing its complete solidarity with the *Iskra* organisation in Russia, is happy to co-opt to the Committee, with its full consent, a group of persons belonging to that organisation and specially engaged in transporting *Iskra* and distributing it *throughout Russia*. The C.C. assigns such-and-such members to assist this group and allocates such-and-such funds, and one of the members of this group (Arkady) enters the C.C. of the St. Petersburg Committee, while remaining a member of the *Iskra* organisation in Russia, and takes special charge of preparations for all-Party unity in the *Iskra* spirit." By the group I mean the persons you sent for fish,[140] etc. I repeat that I am only suggesting various acceptable and possible propositions, in fulfilment of your request to suggest a "concrete draft of a plan", and leaving it to your discretion to make use of my suggestions in one form or another. Be sure to write how things stand at present, and in what direction you are moving them. Strike the iron while it is hot, and remember that we have to come to a mutual agreement in as detailed a form as possible about the plan for finally and irrevocably winning over the "tuning fork" (=the St. Petersburg Committee=Vanya). And you must be as wise as a serpent with your young friends!

If this is possible, it would be best of all. Then you would be a delegate from Vanya in the Organising Committee (preparing for Sasha[141], and one more of our people could be in it from Sonya. Write as soon as you can what you think of all this, and whether you have *talked* about it with Vanya and with *Manya*.

(2) It is you who must without fail set up an Organising Committee in Russia, and take it into your own hands: you on behalf of Vanya, Claire on behalf of Sonya+one more of our people from the South—that is the ideal. Be extremely careful and restrained with the Bund, without showing your hand, and letting it deal with Bundist affairs but *not allowing* it to *stick its nose* into Russian affairs: remember that there you have an unreliable friend (*and maybe even an enemy*).

(3) Explain to everyone everywhere that it is pure gossip that *Iskra*'s editorial board itself wants to become the Russian Party's C.C. It is nonsense. The C.C. can exist only in the field of operations, and our hope is that it will develop out of the Organising Committee and revolutionary workers. The relationship between *Iskra*'s editorial board and the C.C. would be determined by the division of functions principle (ideological leadership and *practical direction*), with regular congresses serving to ensure unity, or possibly the attachment of one of the five (as an assumption) members of the C.C. here as a permanent delegate. The gossip is being spread by *Borba*, and it must be exposed. We don't want to reply in print to these rogues: the best way to punish them is for *Iskra* to be silent.

Perhaps Vanya's doubts (about which you wrote) are also due to his vague idea of all this? Make sure that both Vanya and still more *Manya* are quite clear about it.

All the very best, and hopes above all that you will manage to hold out.

Yours,
Lenin

[P.S. If it should come into Vanya's head to demand a precise definition of relations between Manya and himself, between his members and the members of Manya who are in the St. Petersburg C.C., I think this would be best *postponed* until we meet here, and that Vanya should be told *straight*: "One of two things—either we really see eye to eye; and then a month of work together will see us working so smoothly that there will not remain the slightest shadow of misunderstanding between us, because we shall all be Iskrists. Or else we shall find ourselves in disagreement—in which case we shall part ways in a proper manner. But we don't want to look silly once again by drawing up agreements, etc.!" From your letter of June 6 I see that you replied to them at the outset in this sense, and of course it was an excellent thing to do.]

Written on July 16, 1902
Sent from Loguivy to St. Petersburg

First published in 1924 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolutsia* No. 3

Printed from the original

TO ALEXANDRA KALMYKOVA

September 27, 1902

I have received your letter. Many thanks for your detailed reply. Until Viscount arrives I will not, as you wish, either raise the general question of finance or *give any information* about your letter, except in general terms, i.e., neither about how you define the body of "holders", nor about what amount you specify, nor about how soon you can provide it (the whole immediately, or in instalments). We shall, in any case, have *vertrauliche** talks with Viscount about all the most important questions; so it will be best for me first of all to show him your letter, and to decide jointly with him on the limits, so to speak, of any further information about its contents.

I personally incline to the view that for the time being it would be best not to tell anyone about the whole amount (to keep it secret), nor to tell absolutely anyone about the possibility of obtaining it all at once, because at the present moment there's an *infinity* of "possible" expenditure on "possible" undertakings. The abundance of escapes is putting a mass of people at *Iskra*'s "disposal", *provided all of them are given maintenance*, but if we start this on a grand scale, frivolously and in haste, we shall find ourselves "on the rocks" within six months or a year. On the other hand, if we are more "tight-fisted", a fairly large number of peripheral undertakings manage "to make do with their own resources". In view of this, it is best to *arrange matters in the old way* (i.e., to speak to all those who participate in this way): *you* can provide a *good* deal

* Confidential.—*Ed.*

yet, let us say, "*over* 10 thousand", but, first, not all at once, and second, you *wish* to provide only in extreme necessity, advising them to seek regular sources to cover current expenses themselves. I repeat that so far this is my personal opinion, and I don't yet know Viscount's opinion. We wanted to raise the question with him here about some "amicable", "friendly" division of functions, starting from the principle that after all it is better to take advantage of peace to bring about a stable *modus vivendi* than to postpone matters once more until some "accidental" conflict. But whether this will succeed, whether we shall decide in this way, whether it will be convenient to raise the question—all this is still unknown.

At present, we are very hard up for money, and there are some *urgent* expenses. Therefore, please send *2,000 marks* immediately, if possible: what you can, of this amount, at once, and what you have to draw, as soon as possible (and let us know when it will arrive). But in my opinion you should already draw a larger amount: draw some *3,000 rubles* and keep it at home, so that we could get it from you at short notice. Otherwise we literally don't know how to get out of it: we already owe 150 rubles, and are putting off a payment of 50 rubles next week. We need about 300 rubles for departures (quite essential), about 200 for the people here soon, etc. Write as soon as you can what arrangements you have made, when and how much you will be receiving.

I shall pass on what you say to Brock. There is a crowd of people here, and altogether too much commotion. Yet many more are arriving in the next few days!

You write nothing about your plans for coming here, and very vaguely about your health: only that you don't feel well, but what is the matter? I am also worried about the lack of news from home.

Well, my best wishes,

Yours,

Lenin

Sent from London to Dresden

First published in 1928 in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the original

PREFACE TO THE SPEECHES OF NIZHNI-NOVGOROD WORKERS IN COURT[142]

NIZHNI-NOVGOROD WORKERS IN COURT

We reprint the speeches of the Nizhni-Novgorod workers from the lithographed leaflet issued by the Nizhni-Novgorod Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. To add anything to these speeches would only mean weakening the impression created by this ingenuous account of the workers' misery, of the growing indignation among them and of their readiness to fight. It is now our duty to make every effort to have these speeches read by tens of thousands of Russian workers. The example of Zalomov, Bykov, Samylin, Mikhailov and their comrades, who courageously stood up in court for their fighting call: "Down with the autocracy!", will inspire the whole working class of Russia to equally heroic and resolute struggle for the freedom of the whole people, and the freedom of steady working-class advance to the bright socialist future.

Written before December 1 (14), 1902

Published in *Iskra* No. 29, December 1, 1902

Printed from the original

TO G. V. PLEKHANOV

December 1, 1902

Dear Georgi Valentinovich,

I was already going to inquire why you were silent, when I received your letter. Your requests will be fulfilled.

Why do you say nothing either (1) about a topic for *Iskra* or (2) about a feature article on Tarasov[143]? Did you not get my letter from Berne? Please reply as soon as possible whether you intend to write a leading article for *Iskra* on this or some similar theme. [As soon as possible, because No. 28 is ready and the setting of No. 29 has begun. In No. 28, there is a leading article by Vera Ivanovna against the S.R.s to show that they are distorting history by their inventions that no politicians were insulted in the period of Narodnaya Volya,[144] etc. The heading is: "*Le mort saisit le vif*".*]

How are your polemics with "Vladimirov" going? What about your lecture? How are Lalayants's and the other study groups? What are the *Zhizn* people[145] up to?

Best wishes,

Yours,

Lenin

Yes, I almost forgot to say that Lev**

Please forward the enclosed letter by local post.

Sent from London to Geneva

First published in 1956 in *Kommunist* No. 16

Printed from the original

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* "The Dead Seizes the Living."—*Ed.*

** The phrase is incomplete.—*Ed.*

1903

TO F. V. LENGNIK

To Kurtz

January 17, 1903

Yesterday we received *Kievski S.-D. Listok* No. 1, dated *November* 30 (sic!) through an outsider. It is simply a scandal that our Iskrists always lag behind! Why didn't Zarin send us this leaflet in time? Why hasn't he written a single word about this undertaking? We implore Zarin to link us up directly with some member of the Committee, someone who is conscientious and mobile and who knows everything that is going on. Every leaflet (whoever issues it) must be sent immediately to two different addresses in two copies, one in an envelope, another wrapped up in a Russian newspaper. Then we must immediately be given contact with *Vakar*. We are very much afraid that the Kiev Iskrists, owing to their inactivity and onlooker attitude, will suffer the same fate as that of the St. Petersburg Iskrists. Not a word either about receipt and *distribution* (N.B.) of the literature! This is a desperate situation!

Sent from London to Kiev

First published in 1928 in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the original

TO YELENA STASOVA

Why don't you reply to No. 16 of *Rabochaya Mysl*, published in Geneva, apparently by Nadezhdin? Are you really going to let this pass too without a protest? What a scandal that leaflet No. 1 of *Rabochaya Mysl* was burned[146]: of course, there were some things in it that needed correcting, and drastically at that. But then why wasn't it done? It's quite incomprehensible what is going on at your end! Why has the printed leaflet on the 200th anniversary of the press been delayed[147]? Send us immediately every leaflet, your own and other people's, workers' and students', all without exception, with a note saying whether they may be quoted and whether they were distributed—two copies of each to two addresses, either simply in envelopes or wrapped up inside a legal newspaper sent by book-post, only with a strong wrapper crosswise.

Why don't you send to *Iskra* the St. Petersburg Committee reports of the money you collect? Be sure to do this. There is great need of workers' letters from St. Petersburg; please do your best to get some, especially about unemployment, and then about the impression created by our literature.

Correct leaflet No. 1 of *Rabochaya Mysl*, rewriting it in a more restrained and more business-like tone, and be sure to publish the story of the split within the Committee. Nadezhdin's *Rabochaya Mysl cannot*, I emphasise, *cannot* be let off without a public protest.

Written on January 28, 1903
Sent from London to St. Petersburg

First published in 1928
in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the original

TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY AND V. A. NOSKOV

To Claire and Boris from Starik

Dear Friends,

Kurtz is writing to you about yesterday's meeting.[148] There is no longer any hope, absolutely no hope of peace. You can't imagine even a tenth of the outrages to which the Martovites have sunk here, poisoning the whole atmosphere abroad with their spiteful gossip, encroaching on our contacts, *money*, literary material, etc. War has been declared, and they (Lyuba, Kostya, Yeryoma) are already on their way to fight in Russia. Get ready for the most legal but desperate struggle. We must by all means fill the places on *all* committees without exception with our own people. Special attention should be paid to Kharkov, Yekaterinoslav and Rostov. Is it true that the Kiev Committee has adopted a resolution backing the Minority? Is that possible? Why weren't we told earlier?

I would very strongly advise you to co-opt Konyaga and Ignat. You will soon see and get to know the former. About the latter I will say this: in wartime he is, truly, useful and essential; he will be quite loyal; he can be kept away from functions for which he is not fit; there is much idle gossip about him; there is no need to fear that he will co-opt God knows whom, because Kurtz will be staying here, and we shall take care of him. I repeat that I strongly advise you to take in Ignat, but, of course, it is entirely up to you; I have made Ignat give me a solemn promise that he would obey his chiefs in all things (and admitted to him that he should be prepared for not being co-opted).

Please be sure to get the Bureau to function properly,

so that we should get weekly letters from you. I would ask you even more earnestly to have Brutus go underground: it's not worth while perishing cheaply. Let him travel all over the place in the next two or three months, and then come here to replace Kurtz. This step is really essential. We have seen Lebedev. Ruben is here also.

Gurvich and Khinchuk are Martovites.

Hurry up with your reply about the Council. You should at once make a formal appointment of one more member representing you, and he should transfer his vote to Kurtz. Please don't delay.

Written on October 5, 1903
Sent from Geneva to Kiev

First published in 1927
in *Lenin Miscellany VI*

Printed from the original

TO F. I. DAN

Copy of a Reply

Addressed to Potresov (for Dan)

December 2, 1903

"Dear Comrade,

"The elimination of the personal conflict between Martov and myself could be confirmed in an annex to the minutes of the League's Congress.[149] For my part, I should only welcome it. But no one has either the formal or the moral right to abbreviate anything in the minutes of the Congress, or to delete anything from the description of what took place."

With comradely greetings,

N. Lenin

Written in Geneva (mailed locally)

First published in 1929 in *Lenin Miscellany X*

Printed from the original

1904

TO THE SOUTHERN BUREAU OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.

To Odessa

From Lenin, C.C. member abroad and member of the Council

Comrades,

We have been informed privately that the majority of the Nikolayev Committee is accused of incorrect action.[150] I should very much like to be clear on what happened. Be so kind as to reply to me *immediately* yourselves (and ask for an immediate reply to me also from the comrades who are at present members of the Nikolayev Committee, passing this letter on to them) on the following questions:

(1) Who were the members of the Nikolayev Committee before the raid of March 8-9? A full list of conspirative names is essential. How many members were there in all? How many supported the Minority and how many the Majority?

(2) Were all the members of the Nikolayev Committee arrested on March 8-9? If not, how many remain? How many belong to the Majority, and how many to the Minority?

(3) Was or was there not a formal resolution of the Nikolayev Committee (before the raid of March 8-9) on the nomination of candidates? If there was, when was it adopted, how many candidates were nominated and who precisely were they?

(4) Have there been arrests in the Nikolayev Committee since March 8-9? What changes in its composition did each of these arrests bring about?

(5) Were or were not Comrades S. and O. (members of the Minority with whom there was a dispute) members of the Nikolayev Committee before the raid? Did they or did they not work in Nikolayev earlier? If they did, when, how long, in what capacity, in which group, in which line, etc.? When precisely did S. and O. come to Nikolayev?

(6) How many days after the wholesale arrests (March 8-9) did Comrade N. come to Nikolayev?

(7) What right had Comrade N. to declare Comrades S. and O. members of the Nikolayev Committee, without consulting Comrades V. and A., members of the Nikolayev Committee, and without obtaining their consent?

(8) Did Comrades S. and O. make any complaint about being members of the Nikolayev Committee without any appointment and without co-optation? If they did, please state in detail on what grounds.

(9) What connections were Comrades S. and O. supposed to hand over to Comrades V., N. and A.? Where did Comrades S. and O. get these connections? Who gave these connections to them, and when?

(10) Why did S. and O. not recognise Comrades V. and A. as the Committee?

(11) What official organisations of the Nikolayev Committee existed at the time of the raid of March 8-9, i.e., what groups of agitators, of organisers, of propagandists, etc., and how many such groups? Please list all without fail, and state how many members there were in each, how many of the Minority and how many of the Majority?

(12) When was the group of agitators whose meeting of 10 on April 20 adopted a resolution in favour of the Majority formed? Was it before the raid or after the raid? Was its composition changed after the raid, and how precisely? Did or did not this group (or some other groups) have a formal or tacit right to nominate candidates for membership of the local Committee?

(13) Do you happen to know from where, and with whose help (in cash, etc.), S. and O. were sent?

Written in Geneva
at the end of May 1904

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XV*

Printed from the original

TO V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH

July 26, 1904

Dear Vladimir Dmitrievich,

Thank you for your letter of 23.7.04 about our affairs.[151] I reply point by point.

As regards general policy, I am still for an armed peace, for retreats with protests (as we said in our talk with Nina Lvovna in the presence of yourself and Martyn Nikolayevich), in short, for our old tactics. Protest against every infringement, publish, agitate, without giving them any pretexts for the coup d'état which they desire. As to the details of particular measures, you can judge better on the spot.

That C.C. agents were not given any papers is the direct *fault* of Boris, who was the last to leave.[152] I have already written to Martyn Nikolayevich that I advise him to *explain* to the C.O. editorial board the *absurdity* of demanding the papers: tell them Boris has been written to twice, *there is a report about his arrest*, so must we really wait six months for a reply from Russia? Keep protesting—but *de facto* you will still be carrying on everything.

As regards finance, I have the feeling that we were rash in taking on the library: it's not luxuries we need, it's sustenance. Do you remember my telling you this? And the 300 francs have been spent! Please, do be careful, don't let yourself be carried away by the library,[153] keep your mind on the cause *as a whole*.

My best greetings to Ignat. How does he feel?

I am terribly worried about Nina Lvovna. Write at once if you hear anything.

To my mind, we must issue a reply to Plekhanov (in *pamphlet* form, not as a leaflet, and with a short preface) if the C.O. fails to publish it despite all our protests. And *don't be late* with this, or it will lose its interest.[154]

Every good wish, and greetings to Vera Mikhailovna and all our friends.

Yours,
N. Lenin

Write to me (and send newspapers) to *Meiringen*, *post-lagernd*.*

Written in Switzerland,
sent to Geneva

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XV*

Printed from the original

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* Poste restante.—*Ed*.

TO V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH

Dear Vladimir Dmitrievich,

I have received your letter and hasten to reply. I simply cannot understand why you fell out, and what the point is.[155] I don't see why not sell 20-30 copies of *Zarya* and why this should be "running ahead of things". I should think this was the kind of routine matter in forwarding that could be left entirely to the manager of the forwarding section, i.e., to you. I am writing this very day to Martyn Nikolayevich asking him to try and clear up the misunderstanding. You shouldn't be too much upset about individual expressions, even sharp ones, even unfair ones. You see, surely, that we are all very edgy—the cause of it all is the rotten situation created by the new traitors in the C.C. Maybe we shall now soon put an end to all this, once and for all, and make a fresh start—then the basis for petty conflicts will disappear. In the meantime, we must try and see it through patiently, and I would reply to caustic remarks by jokes about "the deadly destroyer".[156] I quite understand your irritation, but joking seems to be the only answer. If a dispute arises, drag out its solution, write to us here, that's all you should do. Please take *all possible steps* to accelerate the appearance of

(1) the pamphlet by Ryadovoi and Galyorka,
(2) your statement with the documents,
(3) Galyorka's pamphlet which was sent today.[157]

How is Ilya? He visited me yesterday, I told him what was in hand,[158] but he still can't make up his mind. Has he been given my (1) letter on the subject of the agreement of 26.5.04[159]; (2) protest against the C.C. declaration,[160] and (3) letter about the protest[161]? *It is absolutely essential*

that he and all the compositors read this; *don't delay with this*.

Have matters been arranged about the co-operative printing press[162]? Hurry.

Ilya says there is a rumour that Glebov has a letter of resignation from Travinsky. We shall look into it *and check*.

They're a nice lot, aren't they? Five and four are arguing; *two* of the five resign; two of the four are taken—then the three, instead of resigning, stage a coup d'état[163]!

Yours,
N. Lenin

Written in Switzerland,
between
August 18 and 31, 1904,
sent to Geneva

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XV*

Printed from the original

TO V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH

September 13, 1904

Dear Vladimir Dmitrievich,

I think you *should not send* any application, as we decided previously.[164]

Stick a leaflet on the pamphlet,[165] printing on it (1) an advertisement about your publishing agency (and on the back); (2) Boris's statement on its prohibition (as already set); (3) the letter from Boris dated Sept. 12 (this one),[166] without the postscript; (4) a short additional remark, something to this effect:

"Such is the policy of people who so magnificently carried on a war 'of principle' against formalism and bureaucracy! It would, however, be interesting to learn which clause of the Rules prohibits Party members from publishing Party literature?

"V. Bonch-Bruyevich"

Greetings to everybody. I shall be back on Thursday, the day after tomorrow.

Yours,
N. Lenin

P.S. Inform Sergei Petrovich: (1) that on Thursday we shall evict him from his quarters and shall be spending the night there ourselves; (2) that Pan wrote about Samsonov four days ago. He should have been sent direct!

Written in the neighbourhood of Geneva
Sent to Geneva

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XV*

Printed from the original

TO G. D. LEITEISEN

September 29, 1904

Dear Comrade,

I was very pleasantly surprised by reports from Sergei Petrovich and Martyn Nikolayevich about your political stand at the present time. I need not tell you how painful it has been for me, over the last twelve months, to see a break in the good relations which had previously always existed between us. In view of these reports, I think it would not be worth our while to look back to the past: we could probably resume our old relations exclusively on the basis of our common positive tasks of the present and the future. If I am mistaken in this, you will, of course, correct my error; but I feel it to be my duty, after my talk with Martyn Nikolayevich, to make a first attempt to clarify frankly and directly how we stand.

Respectfully yours,
N. Lenin

My address is: ...*

Sent from Geneva to Paris

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XV*

Printed from a copy written
by P. N. Lepeshinsky

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* No address is given in the MS.—*Ed.*

TO MARIA GOLUBEVA

Coded

Personal from Lenin to *Maria Petrovna*

Dear Comrade,

I was extremely glad to learn from our mutual friends (particularly from *Zver*—I don't know whether you knew her by the same nickname) that you are alive and have taken up a political stand in solidarity with us. We were acquainted and saw each other so long ago (at Samara in 1892-93) that it would be difficult for us to renew our friendship without the help of new friends. And I should very much like to renew it. For this purpose I am sending you, taking advantage of the address I have, a detailed letter about our affairs, and earnestly ask you to reply personally and as soon as you can. It is quite impossible to work together unless there is regular correspondence, but up to now Saratov has been in the habit of keeping a stubborn silence for months at a time. Please see that all this is changed now, and begin to write us yourself as circumstantially as possible. Without detailed letters from you personally it will be impossible to get a clear picture either of your personal activity in the cause or of Saratov conditions in general. Please make yourself spend 2 or 3 hours a week on this.

I send you very best greetings and good wishes.

Lenin

Written after October 5, 1904
Sent from Geneva to Saratov

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XV*

Printed from the original

TO E. E. ESSEN

To Baron from Lenin

November 4, 1904

Dear Comrade,

The many reports I have had about you oblige me to beg you to leave your work temporarily and come here for a month. I understand perfectly how carried away you are by your work, and how hard it is for you to tear yourself away from it, but, after all, we must think of deploying our forces from the standpoint of the general plan of the campaign. We need experienced workers, and you must find some young people to substitute for you temporarily, and come over here without fail to settle some common problems, to tell us about all your conclusions from your journeys, and to confer about the new steps we are taking. This is quite necessary, otherwise we shall be left without reserves in any serious contingency in the future. Please reply to me personally as soon as possible, and I entreat you not to postpone your journey even for as long as a week. You've been intending to come for a long time; but keep putting it off. It may end badly: I've seen it happen before. My best wishes, and hope to see you soon.

Yours,
N. Lenin

Sent from Geneva to Odessa

First published in 1924
in the magazine *Krasnaya Letopis* No. 1

Printed from the original

TO A. I. YERAMASOV

Dear Friend,

Your help was extremely valuable to us in general and to me in particular. If I have not yet made any special request of you, it was because there has been no extremity, but I have been confident of the utmost possible support on your part. At the present time, a moment of extremity is approaching, a situation so serious that I could not even imagine anything of the kind before. Our undertaking is threatened with complete collapse, unless we manage to hold out for at least six months *with the help of extraordinary resources*. And to do that without folding up our activities we need a minimum of two thousand rubles a month: for editing, publishing, transport, and equipment of the most essential agents. That is why I now address this most urgent request to you to help us out and procure this support for us. Please let me know as soon as possible whether you are able to fulfil this request of ours.

Written in December 1904
Sent from Geneva to Russia

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XV*

Printed from the original

1905

TO *** [167]

March 9, 1905

Dear Friend,

I am unable to answer most of your questions, because I myself know no more than you do. It looks as if Voinov is not in favour of a single centre. The Russians are. Whether or not it will go through, I don't know. I am more in favour of the old system,[168] but do not attach any particular importance to it. The crux of the problem is consultations between the Central Committee and the editorial board—and that *in effect* brings us back again to some sort of Council.

"Then we shall see."

I can't write about you to Moscow, because I have no personal friends there, and one has to be careful with such things. It is better to wait and see how they decide themselves.

I will send you the outline of my report ("The Tasks of the Third Congress") if I find it*: it is *very* brief, almost what was said in "From the Editors", in *Vperyod*.[169]

I have not so far been able to find out what sort of consent there was on the part of the Central Committee to a congress. I myself was very much afraid of a skilful C.C. intrigue—you saw our attitude in *Vperyod*.[170] Now the Minority C.C. have nearly all been arrested, only Fisher,

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* I have found it. I can't send it, because it is hieroglyphics on a scrap of paper. My advice is to concentrate on the experience of the Second Congress.

Nikitich and Karp remain. Stein and Povar[171] have also been arrested. This will probably weaken the Mensheviks for a long time. Over here, dear old Martov has a real fit at his club at any mention of the congress. Judging by this, they won't come. But who can know for certain? I am ready even for the worst: for a split on our part, but consider this improbable.

Don't tell me you have not even managed to get a *minute* of Deutsch's most disgusting boasts. Why, that is unheard of! One couldn't even expect such impudence. You should have forced him up against the *minutes*, published a *list* of "their" groups or at least passed the minutes on for the congress, so as to show the Russians the boundless impudence of these gentlemen.

All the best,

N. Lenin

Written in Geneva

First published in 1926 in *Lenin Miscellany V*

Printed from the original

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE BRITISH LABOUR REPRESENTATION COMMITTEE[172]

March 23, 1905

Dear Sir,

Thank you very much for your donation. I have received a cheque for £80 (francs 2,008) and directed £60 (frs 1,506) according to your prescriptions in St. Petersburg to our St. Petersburg Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. I have received also the second cheque for £90 (the sum not yet received here in francs). £50 will be also sent to aid the widows and orphans of the St. Petersburg (labourers) working men, killed on 9 (22) January.

With kind regards.

Yours very sincerely,

Vl. Oulianoff
(Editor of the *Vperiod*)

VI. Oulianoff, Editor of the "*Vperiod*",
3. Rue de la Colline. 3. Genève.
Switzerland.

Sent to London

First published on August 18, 1946
in the journal *British Ally* No. 33

Printed from the original
in English

TO P. A. KRASIKOV

April 5, 1905

Dear Friend,

So far I can say nothing definite about the date.[173] I think you will have time enough to go to Liege, if you can return on Sunday, or if you *don't take a return ticket* and don't go back to Paris (probably the best thing will be to take a 45-day circular ticket, Paris—Liège, etc.—Paris, right away). It's *hardly* possible before Monday, although, I repeat, I'm not sure. Today, April 5, was fixed as the latest date for departure from St. Petersburg—*ergo* it is hardly likely before Monday. So far no one has arrived. On Friday, two will be setting off from here—they may call at your town, but strictly incognito.

Have you seen Plekhanov's *Dnevnik*[174]? What a melancholy tone of utter resignation! I am sorry for the old man, he's angry for no good reason, but what a lovely brain....

Our line with the *delegates* must be strictly peaceable: we "have nothing to lose, but stand to win everything (if there's a victory)"; for our opponents it's the other way round. You will, of course, see this yourself from the B.M.C. and C.C. leaflet,[175] and also from No. 13 (Question of Organisation).[176]

Hurry, hurry, hurry with the report of the Committee of the Organisation Abroad,[177] *the list of members* and all the documents.

Au revoir,

Yours,

N. Lenin

Greetings to Kiska! How is she getting on?

Sent from Geneva to Paris

First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVI*

Printed from the original

TO ***[178]

I hasten to remind you about one thing which it is *essential* to translate and publish as soon as possible, and which I forgot to mention in my talk with you (although I have had this thing in mind for a very long time!). It is Friedrich Engels's *Die Reichsverfassungskampagne*, from the collection of the works of Marx and Engels published by Mehring (Marx, *Nachlass*, etc., Vol. III). This is quite a separate thing, which really must appear as a pamphlet. It is now of *particularly* great interest.[179]

Written in Geneva in April-May 1905

First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVI*

Printed from the original

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE BRITISH LABOUR REPRESENTATION COMMITTEE

May 20, 1905

Dear Sir,

I acknowledge with thanks the receipt of £25, of which £5 will be subscribed, according Your condition, for relief work. Your subscriptions are all mentioned in our paper *Vperiod* (Forward), which we send to You. Now I send You again the issues of this paper, where the subscriptions are mentioned and I notice these mentions with blue pencil.

We have written already to St. Petersburg Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party that it is necessary to make a report before some working men meetings about the subscriptions from the L.R.C. All communications with the organisations of our party being secret it must take some time before an answer can be received. This week some Russian comrades go to St. Petersburg and I repeated to them my request. They promised to me to take all measures to accelerate this report in St. Petersburg and to send a notice to You. Your letter from 22.4.05 will also be sent to the St. Petersburg Committee.

I hope, dear Sir, that you will soon receive a letter from our Petersburg comrades stating the report before working men meeting in the Russian capital.

I beg to apologise for my bad English.

With kindest thanks.

Yours very sincerely,

Vl. Oulianoff
(Editor of the *Vperiod*)

VI. Oulianoff,
3. Rue de la Colline. 3.
Genève. Switzerland.

Sent to London

First published on August 18, 1946
in the journal *British Ally* No. 33

Printed from the original
in English

TO LYDIA FOTIEVA

My dear Kiska,

I have just sent you a telegram. To be on the safe side, I will explain what it is about. I have been summoned to Paris on business. I want on no account to waste my time in travelling merely for this reason, but to give a lecture. The subject: "The Third Congress and Its Decisions". The contents: a parallel analysis of our decisions and those of the Mensheviks. They have just issued an announcement about their conference, and I will analyse it. I can speak only on *Tuesday* (I will be arriving on Monday, but my evening will be taken up) and must finish in one day. If you can, hire the biggest hall (where I spoke against Struve—Filatov and the others will know) and inform the maximum number of people. If you have not yet telegraphed a clear reply, do so tomorrow, so that I should know *exactly* whether a hall has been hired. Perhaps you will even have time to write to me by *express* (so that I should get it not later than Sunday morning), but if you have something important to report, be sure to cable.

I am giving the same lecture here today.

All the best,
Yours,
Lenin

*Tournez s'il vous plaît!**

If by any chance it turned out that I couldn't deliver the lecture, I might not come at all. Therefore be sure to reply.[180]

Written on June 1 or 2, 1905
Sent from Geneva to Paris

First published in 1931
in *Lenin Miscellany XVI*

Printed from the original

* P.T.O.—*Ed.*

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.

September 15, 1905

Dear Comrades,

I have received the money, 1,000 rubles—2,640 francs—and the first issue of *Rabochy*. It makes an excellent impression. Let us hope that it will largely solve the difficult problem of providing a popular exposition which is not boring. There is something fresh in the tone and character of the exposition. A splendid fighting spirit. In short, let me congratulate you on this success with all my heart, and wish for more. So far, I have the following minor remarks: (1) a little more should be said about *socialism*, in view of the "explanatory" nature of the organ, and (2) the fighting political slogans should be more closely and directly tied in with the *resolutions* of the Third Congress, and with the general spirit of our revolutionary Social-Democratic tactics.

Now for your letter of Aug. 24, 1905,[181] which simply amazed us all by its tone. I. About information. You "can do nothing more". That is not true, since we find that the Bund, and the Mensheviks, and a number of Bolsheviks can do more, and are doing it. It is a fact that the C.C. member abroad is not as well informed as the Bundists and *Iskra*. This should be put right, and maintained steadily through tireless effort. Here is the most recent example. We received your active boycott resolution *just the other day*.[182] People arriving from Russia have known about it *since June*! And you tell us that you "can do nothing more"? Its late arrival caused discordance between us, through no fault of mine, for, not knowing how you were interpret-

ing it, I gave a different interpretation of "active boycott" in *Proletary*.

There you have another fact of the two-centre situation which you have restored . In substance, the discordance turned out not to be great, but still it is undesirable on a question concerning the course of action of the whole Party. I believe it to be (1) extremely important and the only correct approach, from the point of view of the decisions of the Third Congress, to put forward directly, as the central point in the agitation campaign, the slogan of insurrection and a provisional revolutionary government. (2) I think it is quite wrong to advise that meetings of the electors should be "dispersed by force". Such tactics would be fatal. One of the two things: either there are no conditions for using force on a sizable scale—in which case, we should confine ourselves to agitation, speeches, strikes and demonstrations, making an effort at persuading the electors and on no account "dispersing them". Or conditions do exist for the use of force on any considerable scale—in which case the force must be directed, not against the electors, but against the police and the government. In that case, undertake an insurrection. Otherwise you risk landing in a most absurd situation: the workers "use force to break up" meetings of electors; the government uses force to defend them! This in practice shows the harmfulness of not advancing the straightforward and resolute slogan of insurrection, as a centre of agitation against the Duma: prepare for an insurrection, try to persuade everybody (including the electors as well) to prepare for an insurrection, explain its objectives, forms, methods, conditions, organs and preliminaries. But don't use *force* to no purpose, before it has been accumulated, for if you haven't convinced the electors, it is plain madness and suicide for the Social-Democrats to scatter them by force.

Furthermore. II. You write that you were not tricking the Organising Committee, but were doing the will of the Third Congress. I think that you are clearly wrong in this. I wrote to you as long ago as...* about the need to prepare

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* A space was left in the MS. after "as long ago as" for the date of the letter to the Central Committee—July 28 (see present edition, Vol.

the *conditions* for unification, and *two congresses* to give it effect (in the same place and at the same time, with an obligation on the part of each organisation to accept the decisions of *its own* congress). So there is no difference of opinion there. But it is a fact that you have forgotten about the secret resolution (I append it below) concerning the *obligatory* endorsement of the conditions of fusion by the Fourth Congress. That is what I have been insisting on. Two clauses of the Organising Committee's statement—Clauses 2 and 3—(*Letuchy Listok TsK*[183] No. 3, p. 5) speak out *directly against* unification through a congress. This cannot be denied. But you, *in your reply*, say *nothing at all* of your disagreement! So the result is that you have set aside the resolution. That this is a mistake, and that it must be corrected, is beyond doubt.

Then there is another unquestionable mistake: the absence of any direct reply to the Organising Committee. You write that "*it was a question of fusion on the basis of the Third Congress*". Have a heart, gentlemen! Why deceive yourselves? Why weaken your correct position by obvious hypocrisy?

Fusion on the basis of the Third Congress was rejected. It was offered here both by Vinter and by Vadim directly both to Plekhanov and to the Organising Committee. Given such a unification, there would have been a *single* C.O. (through his agents, Plekhanov even suggested a "trio" for it). Given *such* a unification, there would have been a single C.C., formed out of both halves *as an essential condition*, i.e., the "co-optation" would not have been co-optation but a real fusion.

But this was rejected. Consequently, there remains *agreement* up to the Fourth Congress, and *fusion* "on the basis of the *Fourth* Congress". Instead of giving such a direct and clear reply and statement for all to hear, you evade the substance of the question by withholding your opinion *from our people* (for while the O.C. is patently proposing fusion *not* on the basis of the Third Congress, you reply: this is on the whole acceptable, good, let's have another

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34, pp. 320-22). N. K. Krupskaya crossed out "as long ago as" and wrote "earlier" over it.—*Ed.*

talk about it!). Meanwhile you write to me: "*Our ultimatum was the Rules of the Third Congress*." And you don't call that self-deception? Why, if you say it in public, in the first place, all the Bolsheviks will laugh you out of court, and, in the second place, the Mensheviks will reply to you in *such fashion* that all your good intentions about fusion will go to the devil!

In my opinion, it is better to tell the Party frankly: to our regret, *they* have rejected unification on the basis of the Third Congress. Let's set about preparing for the Fourth Congress in such a way as to have two congresses assemble at the same time and in the same place. Let's work out a plan of unification. Let's say, in all parallel organisations *everywhere* there are equal numbers of both groups (*à la* Nikolayev[184]). If so, draw up a list of parallel organisations, a complete list, and poll all of them. Then there is a Central Committee, shall we say, also half-and-half, i.e., in equal numbers. With complete *unification*, there can be no objection in principle to "co-optation" of that kind (though in practice the question is more complicated and one must know how many parallel organisations there are, etc). (In parenthesis: it's a great pity that in No. 1 of *Letuchy Listok* you boasted that 2/3 of the Party are on our side. Thereby you prejudiced any future acceptance of the "half-and-half" principle on your part. And were you really telling the truth about the 2/3?) Furthermore, the C.O. With *fusion* it would be absurd, in my opinion, to have two Central Organs and I believe it possible that the Bolsheviks will prefer, rather than have this absurd situation, to have their own organ issued by several committees, in accordance with the Party Rules. If there are two *rival* Central Organs, unification will be a dead letter. In that event, it is better to have "agreement", on a basis similar to that at Nikolayev, i.e., everywhere unification or conciliation commissions, with equal numbers from both sides.

III. About money. We were all thunderstruck by your statement that the C.O. must be published "on resources from abroad", and that the bankruptcy of the C.C. must *begin with the C.O*. You write that this is not irritation and not a rebuke. Give me leave not to believe you. To say this

calmly, coolly and in all seriousness is to proclaim a *rupture* between the C.O. and the Party, and this is something you could not wish. It is something unheard of to have the Party's C.O. published not with the Party's resources, but on funds abroad, and to decide that the bankruptcy of the Party must *begin* (rather than end) with the C.O. If we were to take this seriously, instead of regarding it merely as a sign of nervousness on account of temporary difficulties (for in general your turnover is a "fat" one, and your prospects both of the 60,000 and the "undertaking" are three times "fatter"), we should have to take immediate steps to start publication "on resources from abroad" of an organ of the Committee of the Organisation Abroad. But, I repeat, I regard this monstrous outburst on your part only as a state of nerves, and will await our personal meeting, since, in my opinion, it is not the beginning of a break, but a misunderstanding.

Best wishes,
N. Lenin

Written in Geneva
First published in 1926 in *Lenin Miscellany V*
Printed from the original

TO M. A. REISNER

October 4, 1905

Dear Mikhail Andreyevich,

I am very grateful to you for your letter, which gives me even more information than Felix Alexandrovich did in his report of a talk with you, as to the plans and tactics of our so-called Cadets.[185] It was extremely valuable to have your communication that the liberals, Witte, etc., are in deadly fear of an active boycott. I have just received news from Russia that an inter-Party conference of Social-Democrats (both sections of the R.S.D.L.P., the Bund, probably the Letts, etc.)[186] has been held. The active boycott tactics have been finally adopted.

Your plan is not clear to me: (1) Do you really think there is the slightest hope that the Cadets will refuse to participate in an election to the Duma? I think there is none. (2) Don't you think it better for us, if we are to conclude an agreement with the radicals, to demand a million or so from them for the purpose of arming the Petersburg workers, than to have an election to a Constituent Assembly right now? What point will there be in holding an election before or without a fight against Trepov?

Of course, this needs to be discussed in greater detail. I pin my hopes, first, on the meeting you will be having in Berlin over the next few days with one of my friends,[187] and, second, on our meeting here with you about which Felix wrote to us. Wishing you success in the struggle for an active boycott.

Yours faithfully....

Sent from Geneva to Berlin

First published in 1926 in *Lenin Miscellany V*

Printed from the original

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.

October 25, 1905

Dear Friends,

I have just received your letter about my appointment to the International Bureau[188] (it is a pity that you did not appoint Orlovsky, but we can discuss that when we meet) and about a meeting at Odessa (Berlin). It is essential to have a meeting as soon as possible. Instead of Odessa, I can suggest Warsaw (Königsberg)[189]—all the conditions are the same, but it's nearer and more unexpected for the police. In the latter place all could be ready for you in *four days*, given the best possible conditions (a legal passport), on which I advise you to begin working energetically at once. Given worse conditions, the period is still very short, and it would be a good thing, if possible, to increase the number of participants. If you decide on an unfamiliar city (Königsberg is 22 hours from St. Petersburg) the meeting could be appointed in a café, hotel, or tavern, with the aid of a guide-book.

I am writing this very day to the I. Bureau for information about the conference and its date; directly I receive the reply, I will forward it to you. Please hurry with our meeting, regardless even of the conference with the I. Bureau.

Were minutes taken at the inter-Party conference? If they were, send them to us without fail.

Written in Geneva

First published in 1926 in *Lenin Miscellany V*

Printed from the original

1907

TO M. S. KEDROV

Dear Comrade,

According to our agreement, the material for Vol. II should have been delivered by Oct. 1, and for Vol. III, by Oct. 10.[190] The first volume has been delayed. I have already handed in 12 sheets for Volume II, another 7 are ready, and I can hand in the remainder (about 5 or 7) very soon. But I should like to know whether you really require all this material so quickly. Will you be setting it at once? Have you already sent the 12 sheets of Volume II for setting? Will publication be delayed if I send you the end of Volume II later? If it will, I can let you have the end of Volume II immediately, if you want it. But I have a plan to write, for the end of Volume II, a large work about the distribution of land in Russia (using the new statistical data of 1905) and about municipalisation (taking into account Volume IV of *Capital*, or *Theorien über den Mehrwert*, which also appeared in 1905). I think it would be of great interest for the public, and would be very timely. I have already collected nearly all the material for the work and processed part of it. I need a few weeks to finish it; I hope to be able to write the work in a few weeks.

Please, let me know, therefore, whether you want Vol. II to be delivered immediately without this new article, or to have it handed in with the new article in about a month or six weeks.

Written at the end of November and the beginning of December 1907
Sent from Finland to St. Petersburg

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from a copy written by N. K. Krupskaya

1908

TO G. A. ALEXINSKY

January 7, 1908

Dear Pyotr,

Nadezhda Konstantinovna and I arrived at Geneva today.[191] We haven't decided finally where to stay: Alexander Alexandrovich is very much against Geneva, and we are reconnoitring in other places.

But we have to find out just what the situation here is as well. Please write immediately (1) whether you know of a *suitable* person to manage the printing press and the forwarding section[192]; (2) what you think of the doc[tor]* as such; (3) what particularly should be borne in mind about the printing press; [does it need] an owner in view of the fact that it [belongs] to the C.O. of the Bolshevik [group] of the Stockholm Congress? Why do you consider only the *Menshevik* printing press to be the property of the C.C.? (4) Do you think that a weekly paper is possible, and what approximate sale could it count on? 300-500-1,000?

We received your letter in Berlin amidst the panic caused by the arrest of the 17,[193] and therefore destroyed it without a sufficiently attentive reading.

Reply to the address....

How is your health? When [app]roximately will [you] be able to come back here? Has your health [at all] improved during this period?

All the best....

Sent from Geneva to Vienna

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

* Part of the sheet on which the letter was written was torn off and is missing. The words and phrases restored from the remaining letters and from the context are bracketed.—*Ed.*

TO G. A. ALEXINSKY

Dear Pyotr,

I have the following request. I have written a big work on the subject of the agrarian programme, in which, among other things, I deal in detail with the debate in the Second Duma.[194] I lack some of the *documents* introduced in the Second Duma.

More precisely: *Mushenko* introduced a draft of the 104 or 105, not the "well-known" Trudovik[195] draft of the First Duma, which was repeated in the Second as well, but the *new*, *S.R. draft*.[196] It was reprinted in French in *Rapport du parti S.R. au congrès de Stuttgart*. Do you happen to have the Russian text? Can you get it? I will be very much obliged if you can help.

Has it appeared in a separate edition? Where and when?

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

Written between January 7 and February 2, 1908
Sent from Geneva to Vienna

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

TO G. A. ALEXINSKY

February 3, 1908

Well, that's what I call a "good" turn! Giving the address and connections to the Menshevik Mandelberg. That was really naïve. *On no account* let Mandelberg come anywhere near us; but now that you have committed this piece of stupidity, get the address back from him and cheat him.

We wrote to you yesterday about *Proletary*. There is a tremendous and inevitable sharpening of the factional struggle *everywhere*. Details when we meet.

V. Ulyanov

Sent from Geneva to Vienna

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

TO MAXIM GORKY

Dear A. M.,

It's a long time since I wrote to you. Our trip is being constantly put off: the main obstacle at present is the lack of news from Brussels. My friends wrote to me from there that I am expected at a meeting of the Bureau (International Socialist). I asked the secretary when I should come (because, I said, I had to go to Italy). *There's still no reply*. But I mustn't miss Brussels.

Have you received *Proletary*? What are your intentions about it, then? And what about An. Vas.? It was with regret that I got his refusal to write about the Commune. *Innokenty* is our third editor.

Drop me a line about what plans you and An. Vas. have for *Proletary*.

All the best,

Yours,

Lenin

Written in the first half of March 1908
Sent from Geneva to Capri

First published in 1924 in *Lenin Miscellany I*

Printed from the original

TO MARIA ANDREYEVA

Dear Maria Fyodorovna,

I enclose a letter from our librarian to A. M.

The thing is this. I want very much A. M. to write a *legal* open letter to the *Russian* papers, asking *assistance for the* Kuklin *Library* in Geneva by the dispatch to it of newspapers of the period of the revolution and material on its history.

A very short letter *explaining* to the general public why assistance to the library is also important *for the work* both of Gorky himself and of many other literary men he knows.[197]

I would ask you to arrange to have the letter hectographed (I hope Zinovy Alexeyevich will not refuse to help in this) and sent *to all Russian* newspapers and journals of a more or less decent trend.

Please organise all this!

I would ask Zinovy Alexeyevich to send me by *slow* delivery the books which Victor did not take, *unless* Natalia Bogdanovna takes *them*.

All good wishes,

Yours,

Lenin

May Day greetings!

Written in the end of April 1908
Sent from Geneva to Capri

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

TO Th. A. ROTHSTEIN

July 8, 1908

Dear Comrade,

As regards the creditor, I have decided to postpone the letter until a *plenary* meeting of the Central Committee, which is to take place in the *very* near future.[198] I find it inconvenient to butt in with the meeting of the authorised Party collegium about to take place.

I shall be very glad to see you here. I can say little that is definite about the neighbourhood of Geneva: I have been ill all the time since my return from London, and am sitting at home, without seeing anyone who lives in the country. I know that *in France*, but quite close to Geneva, there are many good and hardly expensive places. For example, there is Mornex on the slopes of the Salève, which means that it is fairly high up. A friend of mine lived there in 1904, and I believe one can stay there on one's own quite cheaply, and at slightly higher cost at the pensions, but for 4-4½ francs for sure, because that is the usual price. One can also find a place a little farther away from Geneva (Mornex is about 7 versts away, I should think, and there is an electric tram up to Salève)—within 10 versts and more, on the slopes of the Jura, but I don't know what the place is like over there. I will try and find out something more definite, and will write to you directly I discover anything.

Every good wish,

Yours,

Lenin

VI. Oulianoff. 61, III. Rue des Maraîchers. 61. Genève. This is a new address. It's not far from the École de médecine.

Sent from Geneva to London

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

NOTE TO A. A. BOGDANOV

Dear A. A.,

Here is Steklov's letter. Reply to him yourself. I replied that I was agreeable, provided the subjects were changed round—philosophy for me, the peasant question for Bazarov.[199]

All the best,
Lenin

P.S. Return the letter.

Written in Geneva
October 27 or 28, 1908
(mailed locally)

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

1909

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

The last two-thirds of Kamenev's article are quite bad, and can hardly be edited. I straightened out the first third (p. 1 to end of p. 5) but am not able to make any further alteration, because I see that what it needs is not *editing* but *complete rewriting*.

In this part of the article, Kamenev gives an incredibly woolly and confused expression, with thousands of frills, to his idea (that the Octobrists[200] and the Rightists are fighting over minor matters, that their struggles, dissensions, fights are inevitable in bourgeoisifying the monarchy and that from this fighting the revolution *follows* only *indirectly*, i.e., provided the proletariat enters the arena, and not directly, not by the bourgeoisie itself "going left").

To my mind, we *cannot* publish it in this form.

Either persuade the author to *rewrite* the last two-thirds—and we shall then "edit" the article, or have a hand yourself at rewriting the last two-thirds almost completely.

I enclose (pp. 1-3 in ink) an approximate plan for its rewriting.

Written at Bombon (Seine-et-Marne, France) in August 1909

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

Tuesday

Dear Grigory,

I have received the article about the Swedish strike.[201] It's a very good one. I have sent it to Paris together with the end of my article on Bogdanov[202] (which came to 100 lines —2 pages of *Proletary* in the supplement). I don't know now whether you will approve it all. I leave it *entirely* to your judgement: I am so sick of writing this article that now I don't know whether it wouldn't be better to scrap the *whole*, and reply to Bogdanov literally in a couple of words about his scandal-mongering regarding the "property of the whole group". It's up to you!

I shall write about Plekhanov. The Swedish strike article should go in as the leader.

Best wishes,
Lenin

Written at Bombon (Seine-et-Marne, France) in August September 7 or 14, 1909

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

1910

TO LEON TYSZKA

For T.

March 28, 1910

Dear Comrade,

Thank you for sending me Rosa Luxemburg's articles.[203]

I must protest in the strongest possible terms on the main question—regarding the replacement of Warski by Leder.[204] Why, you put us in the most impossible situation! I will not say anything of Leder's personal qualities (as they caught the eye in work together at congresses and conferences: these impressions of him did *not* at all testify to any knowledge, capacities, literary taste, understanding of the business, and often bore witness to petty faultfinding, etc., etc.—you will appreciate that I am writing to you, too, *privatissime**). I won't enlarge on the fact that it is not right to substitute an inexperienced and scarcely suitable person for an experienced writer, a sensible Marxist and an excellent comrade.

But I will speak about the position of the C.O. editorial board and *about the crisis* in the Party. You surely cannot have failed to notice the critical situation. Warski and I write to the Central Committee about a change in the composition of the C.O. (Dan is clearly disrupting it). The liquidators[205] are disrupting the C.C. And in these circumstances, just when there is *unquestionable* need of

* Strictly confidentially.—*Ed.*

a man who was at the plenum, who has been tested in the work, who is working nicely with the board, who has begun a serious war with a serious enemy—just at that moment he is being replaced by a new man! Where's your fear of God? Don't you see it means paralysing the C.O.? After all, the C.O. is now the *only* organ of leadership for the *whole* Party (until the C.C. gets together again after its disruption by the liquidators). It is terribly important to have the C.O. in working trim—and this is surely no time "to begin all over again", to "initiate" a newcomer, to *argue* instead of getting on with the job. Please do try to understand that, in order to find *loopholes*, the Mensheviks, relying on the plenum (and formally they have an unquestionable right to rely on it), *argue* about every single word in the resolution, its every omission, every incident at the plenum (even the tiniest). Now, is it conceivable, in the situation, to have a man play the part of pendulum when he *was not* present at the plenum and has not worked with us in the central bodies of the R.S.D.L.P. for *years and years*? Why, this is absolutely impossible! It means blocking the whole business—and that at a time when *highly important* questions come up for *decision* at every meeting. Why, Leder will be obliged to say "I don't know" to the *thousands* of arguments and the cavilling of the Mensheviks (who, as you know very well, are devilishly skilful at making use of every *fraktioneller Dreck**). Now, I ask you, can we have such a man at such a time?

No. No. We are not demanding anything excessive of the P.S.D.** We know their forces, and their needs, and the conditions of work in Poland. We are not overburdening Warski, and are not preventing him from doing Polish *literary* work. But you must let us have him in the C.O., as we agreed during the plenum. Without Warski, we are *absolutely* not in a position to "tide over" the period of crisis, i.e., to secure a change in the composition of the C.O. Now, when the crisis is over, when the composition of the C.O. is altered, then ... but even then, let's *not* have Leder,

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* Factional piece of dirt.—*Ed.*
** Polish Social-Democrats.—*Ed.*

for the love of God. In that case, let's have Karski, if we can't have Warski even then. But at present Warski is absolutely, absolutely essential.

All good wishes. Greetings to Rosa.

Yours,
Lenin

Sent from Paris to Berlin

First published in 1925
in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Printed from the original

TO MARIA ZOLINA

For *M. M.*

April 30, 1910

Dear Comrade,

Thank you for letting me know about Mikhail's condition. I took steps at once to get a grant for him. As matters stand, it is hopeless to try and get it through the Central Committee's Bureau Abroad, because there we are now in a minority. There was an opportunity to write to Russia, and I asked the Russian Central Committee to take a decision on a grant for Mikhail. I hope to have a favourable reply in two weeks' time. *In any case*, it would be essential to ensure that Mikhail should continue the treatment and stay at Davos for the time being, until a complete cure.

All the best,
Yours,
N. Lenin

My address is:
Mr. Vl. Oulianoff.
4. Rue Marie Rose. 4.
Paris. XIV,

Sent from Paris to Davos
(Switzerland)

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

TO LEON TYSZKA

July 20

Werter Genosse,*

I have just learned from Warski that two of the *Golos* people (who *were* at the plenum) are *already* in Russia. The situation is critical. Since the plenum, we have lost *three* Bolsheviks.[206] We can't afford any more. It's all up, unless the Poles come to our rescue. It's all over, unless you get a second Polish C.C. man, and send him along with Hanecki for 2-3 weeks, in order to convoke the collegium *at all costs only* to carry through the "measures" and for co-opting purposes.[207] It depends on you. We have done everything possible, lost three, can't afford any more. Write to me as follows: Mr. Oulianoff. Rue Mon Désir. Villa les Roses. *Pornic* (Loire-Inférieure). France. I shall be there until August 23—then at Copenhagen.[208]

Warm greetings to Rosa.

Yours,
N. Lenin

Written on July 20, 1910
Sent from Paris to Berlin

First published in 1925
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Printed from the original

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* Dear Comrade.—*Ed.*

TO KARL RADEK

September 30, 1910

Werter Genosse,

Excuse me for this delay in replying to your two letters. I returned to Paris only the other day,[209] and was unable to reply earlier.

As regards an article for the C.O. on the disarmament resolution of the Copenhagen Congress, it was ordered (back in Copenhagen) and written by another contributor. Unfortunately, your proposal came too late.

As to inserting your article in the next issue, I must have a talk with Warski and another member of the editorial board. I shall do this.

Concerning your leading articles in *Leipziger Volkszeitung*, I must say that the question is very interesting, but I have not studied it at length, and it seems to me that theoretically you are not quite right. The criterion of what is "impracticable within the framework of capitalism" should not be taken in the sense that the bourgeoisie will not allow it, that it cannot be achieved, etc. In that sense, very many demands in our minimum programme are "impracticable", but are none the less obligatory.

Then, when mentioning the Inaugural Address of the International, you omit from your quotation Marx's words about the principles of relations between states.[210] Is not that a "minimum programme" in foreign policy? And finally, why do you say nothing about Engels's "*Kann Europa abrüsten*?"*?

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* "Can Europe Disarm?"—*Ed.*

You are quite right, in my opinion (all this is my personal opinion, of course), that it is impossible to leave out the demand to arm the people. Wouldn't it be more correct to concentrate your fire not on the fact that *Abrüstung** is written into the resolution, but that *Volkswehr*** is not?

I want to reply to Martov and Trotsky in *Neue Zeit*. I have already written to Kautsky and asked him whether they would carry it and how long it could be. It is also necessary of course to reply in *Leipziger Volkszeitung*.

Best wishes,
Yours,
Lenin

Sent from Paris to Leipzig

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

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* Disarmament.—*Ed.*
** Arming the people.—*Ed.*

TO KARL RADEK

To Comrade *Karl Radek*

October 9, 1910

Dear Comrade,

I intended to reply to the articles by Martov and Trotsky in a long article on the substance of the matter in *Neue Zeit*. But things turned out otherwise. You published a very good statement, while Comrade Karski, even before I had written to Kautsky and Wurm of my intention, had sent *Neue Zeit* an article against Martov.[211] Wurm sent me Karski's article, and I agreed that that was enough.

But I cannot, however, leave unanswered Martov and Trotsky's most incredible absurdities and distortions. About a third or a half of my article is now ready. Its subject is: "*The Historical Meaning of the Inner-Party Struggle in Russia*".[212] Please give me your advice: is it possible and will it be useful to publish this article in *Leipziger Volkszeitung*?

If the answer depends on whether or not the editorial board likes my article, I am of course prepared to send it to you without laying down any conditions.

I should be very grateful to you if you could tell me anything about this right away. For instance, I should like to ~now whether you could publish a few feature articles on the subject in *Leipziger Volkszeitung*. What is the *maximum* length of an article to be? And one other thing: I do not write German, but Russian. Can you have a translation made in Leipzig—or do you find this inconvenient or difficult, and prefer that I should find a translator over here (which of

course, in all probability, I can do)? Or, finally, should I write in my *very* bad German (of which this letter is a specimen), and you can then have my bad German translated into good German in Leipzig? (A friend once told me that it was *easier* to translate into German from good Russian than from bad German.)

With best wishes,

Yours,

N. Lenin

My address is:
Mr. Vl. Oulianoff.
4. Rue Marie Rose. 4.
Paris. XIV.

Sent from Paris to Leipzig

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original
in German

TO G. V. PLEKHANOV

November 22, 1910

Dear G. V.,

Comrade Grigory has just given me your letter. I have had only one paper from the International Socialist Bureau, *exclusively* about money, i.e., about our Party's contribution for the maintenance of the International Socialist Bureau. I passed it on to the treasurer of the C.C.'s Bureau Abroad, and replied to Huysmans that I had informed the C.C. about the contribution. I shall, of course, send on to you every "non-financial" paper from the International Socialist Bureau.

What did you think of *Rabochaya Gazeta*?

People are saying here that Martov and Co., when resuming the publication of *Golos*, invited the pro-Party Mensheviks "to clear out" of "*their*" group.

Best wishes,

Yours,

Lenin

Sent from Paris to Geneva

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

1911

TO G. V. PLEKHANOV

February 3, 1911

Dear Comrade,

I received your letter about Singer today, and passed it on to a comrade who promised to send a telegram (I myself have a touch of the flu). By the way, on December 18, I sent you a letter from Huysmans and my draft reply.[213] Your reply seems to be such a long time in arriving! Send me back Huysmans's letter, at least.

The Duma group informs us that the liquidators made a new attack after Jordansky's note in No. 4 of *Zvezda*. The liquidators were backed by Smirnov, Martov's brother, Cherevanin and others.

Veselovsky, Chernyshov, Lositsky were against.

Poletayev (who wrote to me about it) says that there is no doubt that they have won, i.e., that the liquidators' attack has been beaten off.

Best wishes,

Yours,

Lenin

Sent from Paris to San Remo (Italy)

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

TO MAXIM GORKY

Dear A. M.,

How is your health? M. F. wrote that you had returned with a cough, etc. I hope you are better.

We've had some bad luck with *Mysl*.[214] You probably know what has happened from *Rech* and other papers. We have to transfer the whole business to St. Petersburg, and begin all over again. But we have no legal and reliable people.

Could you help us, if you sympathise with *Mysl*? Or perhaps Pyatnitsky could help? As things are, we still have enough money to publish such a small journal (provided, of course, that we all work for nothing and pay outsiders 20 rubles a sheet! Not so generous, you see). So *at present* it is only *technical* help that is needed: to find a publisher who, *without spending a kopek of his own*, would bring out the journal (and we so strongly recognise the *strictest* legality, that we give the right both to the publisher and to the secretary of the editorial board+a lawyer to *hold up* anything in the least dangerous; we brought out four issues without the slightest faultfinding from the court. No. 5 was confiscated on account of Kautsky[215]! That was obviously a mere pretext. There was nothing illegal in Kautsky).

Why should not Pyatnitsky or someone else help us in such a safe business? If it is impossible to find a publisher, what about a *secretary*, a *legal* person whom we would pay 50 rubles a month for worrying about the printing press and forwarding. All we want is an honest and thoughtful person. The trouble is that we have *no* legal people, except workmen (and they won't do).

The second question. We have a translation of Kautsky's latest articles against Maslov, which has already been *paid* for.[216] It's quite legal. It's an essential thing, because Maslov has written a lot of nonsense and has also lied to his Russian readers. It's 3-5 printed sheets. Could it be published—without author's fees (for our translation has already been paid for) at cost price? Is Pyatnitsky (or someone else) suitable for anything like this or not?

The third question. Y. M. Nakhamkis, deported here from St. Petersburg for his connections with the Social-Democratic Duma group (he is *Nevzorov* or *Steklov*, author of a good book about Chernyshevsky[217]), is badly in need of work and asks me to inquire whether it would be possible to publish Peary: *A Journey to the North Pole*. He thinks it will have a good sale.

What news is there of the "plans"? Please write.

And do reply to the workers at our school. They are good fellows. One of them is a poet, and keeps writing verses, but the poor chap has no guide, helper, instructor or adviser.

Best wishes,

Yours,

Lenin

Robert E. Peary:

La découverte du pôle nord. Paris—magnificent illustrations. The blocks can be bought here cheaply. About 15 printed sheets, each of 40,000 letters and spaces. (I have just seen Steklov, who gave me these details.)

Written at the end of April 1911
Sent from Paris to Capri

First published in 1924
in *Lenin Miscellany I*

Printed from the original

THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN THE PARTY

Our Party has undoubtedly arrived at one of the critical points of its development. All Bolsheviks must do their utmost to fully clarify their principles, to unite, and once again lead the Party out on to the high road.

The events that have just taken place abroad (June and July 1911) are a sign of crisis in the Party centres. These events, described and commented upon in a number of leaflets of nearly all groups and trends, amount to this, that the liquidators (through the Central Committee Bureau Abroad[218]—C.C.B.A.) have finally prevented the convocation of a plenum. The Bolsheviks have broken with this C.C.B.A., which has outlawed itself, and jointly with the "conciliators" and the Poles have set up a Technical Commission and an Organising Commission[219] for the convocation of a conference.

What are the principles involved in these events?

The break with the liquidators, who had broken with the R.S.D.L.P., but continued to obstruct all its work from inside the centres (like the C.C.B.A.), means the elimination of this obstruction and the possibility of unanimously setting about the restoration of the illegal and really revolutionary Social-Democratic Party. That is the first and main thing. The second is that the break with the C.C.B.A., which had violated all Party laws (and the consequent resignation from the C.O. editorial board of Martov and Dan, who since February 1910 had taken *no* part in the C.O.), means putting right the mistake of the plenum (in January 1910) owing to which it was not the pro-Party Mensheviks but the Golosists[220] (i.e., liquidators) who turned out to be in the central bodies. The principle laid down by the plenum

(cleansing the workers' party of the *bourgeois* trends of liquidationism and otzovism[221]) has now been divested of the liquidationist centres concealing it.

Fortunately, a court of arbitration has now assessed the hypocritical outcries of the *Golos* people and Trotsky in defence of the C.C.B.A. Three German Social-Democrats (Mehring, Kautsky and Clara Zetkin) were to decide the question of the Bolshevik funds *conditionally* handed over to the C.C., and they decided *provisionally*, pending the conference, to give the money to the Technical Commission and not to the C.C.B.A. This decision is tantamount to the court of arbitration's recognition that the C.C.B.A. was in the *wrong*.

What is the attitude of the other factions abroad? Trotsky, of course, is solidly behind the liquidators, the Vperyodists[222] *also* (they have not yet said as much in the press, but it is known from their official negotiations with the Organising Commission). Plekhanov is "on the fence", while preaching agreement with the C.C.B.A. (see Plekhanovites' resolution).

The C.C.B.A. is itself trying to set about the calling of a conference, with the help of Trotsky, *Vperyod* and Co. Whether anything will come of such an "alliance", no one knows. A collapse of principle is there inevitable. Nothing even resembling Party work *can* result from this bloc. The "bloc" which is being organised by the former C.C.B.A. means nothing but intrigue to *cover up* the anti-Party and anti-Social-Democratic activity of the group of Messrs. Potresov, Mikhail, Yuri, Roman and Co.

The Bolsheviks' task now is to unite, beat off the attack of all the enemies of Social-Democracy, give a lead to all who are wavering, and help the illegal R.S.D.L.P. to get on its feet.

Some say this is a split. The hypocrisy of these outcries from the gentry in the C.C.B.A. has been recognised even by the Germans, who are not familiar with Russian affairs. Martov's pamphlet in German, delivered to the holders of the funds, caused Clara Zetkin to make this comment: "A disgusting production."

In Russia, there is no split among the illegal organisations, there are no parallel Social-Democratic organisations.

There are Party people, and liquidators who have broken away and set up a separate group. Groups abroad, like those of *Golos*, Trotsky, the Bund, and *Vperyod*, want to cover up the break-away of the liquidators, help them to hide under the banner of the R.S.D.L.P., and help them to thwart the rebuilding of the R.S.D.L.P. It is our task at all costs to rebuff the liquidators and, *despite their opposition*, recreate the R.S.D.L.P. To say that rebuilding and reinforcing the illegal party, despite the opposition of the break-away legalists, is "a split" means to make a mockery of the truth and (unconsciously or hypocritically) stretch out a hand to the liquidators. There are some who say that the Bolsheviks want a faction of their own. On this point the "conciliators" (in Paris) have now separated into a *faction* of their own. Without desiring "factionalism", they have set up a new faction (with representatives of its own in the Technical Commission and the Organising Commission—and that is the basic symptom of a faction, the "conciliators'" internal discipline among themselves).

How does the question of factionalism stand? In January 1910 the Bolsheviks dissolved their group *on condition* that all the other factions would also be dissolved. This condition has not been carried out, as everyone knows. *Golos*, *Vperyod*, and Trotsky and Co. have *intensified* their factional activity. And on December 5, 1910, we Bolsheviks publicly declared that the stipulation had been *violated* and that our agreement on the dissolution of all factions had been *broken*, and demanded a return of our group's funds.

Not only the anti-Party trends, but also the Plekhanovites have remained a separate faction: they have their own organ (*Dnevnik*), their *own* platform, their factional nominees to the central bodies, their internal faction discipline.

In these circumstances, the shouts against "factionalism" are so empty, especially when coming from those who have just formed their own faction. Surely it is time to understand that shouts against factionalism are meant to *distract attention* from the really important question, that of the *Party* or *anti-Party content* of the activity of the various factions. We Bolsheviks set up the T.C. and the O.C. in a bloc with the factions of the "conciliators" and the Poles.

The Poles are *for* the "conciliators"; we are in the minority, we are not responsible *for* the conciliatory errors of the T.C. and the O.C. The whole history of "conciliationism" (which we shall recount in the press, directly the conciliators *force* us to do it) is *crying evidence* of its erroneous nature. The Bolsheviks must understand this, so as not to repeat these errors.

The "conciliators" have *not understood* the ideological roots of what keeps us apart from the liquidators, and have therefore left them a number of *loopholes* and have frequently been (involuntarily) a plaything in the hands of the liquidators. At the January 1910 plenum, the "conciliators" (together with the Poles) got through an idiotic clause in the resolution: "For the first time", etc. (see Lenin's article in *Diskussionny Listok* No . 2,[223] or Plekhanov's *Dnevnik*, which admitted that the clause was blown up, integralist, i.e., nonsensical). The conciliators put their trust in the *Golos* people; in return, *Golos publicly* disgraced the conciliators with its greasy kisses.

The conciliators put their trust in Trotsky, who has clearly executed a full turn towards the liquidators. The conciliators in Russia (having had control of the C.C. Bureau, i.e., *all* the authority and *all* the money, for more than a year) haggled with the liquidators, invited them, "awaited" them and, *for that reason*, have done *nothing*.

Now, by entering the T.C. and the O.C., the conciliators have reached the parting of the ways. On the one hand, the *fact* of the break with the C.C.B.A. is recognition and correction of conciliationist errors. On the other, the formation of a separate faction against the Bolsheviks, and the alliance with the least steady Poles, is a step in continuation of their old errors.

It is our duty to warn all Bolsheviks of this peril, and to call on them to unite all their forces and to *fight* for the conference. One and all must be mobilised for this struggle. The Bolsheviks must win, in order to take the Party on to the high road.

Since the revolution, the Bolsheviks, as a trend, have lived through two errors—(1) otzovism-Vperyodism and (2) conciliationism (wobbling in the direction of the liquidators). It is time to get rid of both.

We Bolsheviks have resolved *on no account* to repeat (and *not to allow* a repetition of) the error of conciliationism *today*. This would mean slowing down the rebuilding of the R.S.D.L.P., and entangling it in a new game with the *Golos* people (or their lackeys, like Trotsky), the Vperyodists and so forth. But this is a critical time, and there can be no delay.

All Bolsheviks must unite, organise the conference speedily and *at all costs*, win a victory at it or go over to open and straightforward opposition based on principle. Only Bolshevism, which is alien to waverings either to the left or to the right, can bring the Party out on to the high road.

Written in July 1911

First published in 1956 in the journal *Kommunist* No. 5

Printed from a typescript copy

TO MAXIM GORKY

September 15, 1911

Dear A. M.,

It must have been two months ago that I wrote to you last—at the beginning of the school[224] (it is now over, and the students have gone away). There was no reply, and I was wondering whether the "negotiations" had become protracted or whether anything had radically changed. Leshchenko was here the other day and told me about Capri, and I was very glad to learn that the whole trouble was the postponement of the meetings you had had in mind until "after the fair".[225] But the plans at Capri, Leshchenko said, were unchanged: a literary monthly, a full-sized paper and also, I understand, a tabloid.

Yes, all this would be very welcome indeed just now. The liquidators are buying *Kievskaya Kopeika* (so they say in St. Petersburg, whence we had a letter today), and are transferring it to St. Petersburg. It would be extremely important to organise a counter-attack.

So far we have been able only to collect our last cash for reviving *Zvezda*. I very much count on your help: send us an article. Help is particularly important at the beginning, because it won't be easy to resume an interrupted publication.

Have you received the pamphlet by Kamenev, and have you read it? I cherish the hope that it must dissipate some of the prejudices you seem to have against its author.

Our Party affairs are in a pretty mess, but still things are coming to a head. Plekhanov is hedging, he always acts that way—it's like a disease—before things break. Martov sent Kautsky and Zetkin the translation (in typescript)

of his pamphlet, and this was a *great* help to us: both Kautsky and Clara Zetkin said some pretty harsh things about the pamphlet: the former called it "disgusting", the latter "dirty".

Well, all the best. Do write for *Zvezda*.

Drop me a line, if you feel equal to the effort. Warm greetings to Maria Fyodorovna.

Yours,
Lenin

Sent from Paris to Capri
First published in 1925 in *Lenin Miscellany III*
Printed from the original

TO G. L. SHKLOVSKY

Dear Comrade,

On the way from here to Geneva (I am giving a lecture here tomorrow on the subject of "Stolypin and the Revolution") I shall be in Berne and would like to see the Bolsheviks there. Drop me a line immediately (to the address on the back*—*for* N.N.), to say whether I can find you on Wednesday or Thursday, and whether there are any other Bolsheviks in town.

All the best,
Lenin

P.S. There may be letters for me at your address. If you have moved, notify the Post Office.

Written on September 25, 1911
Sent from Zurich to Berne

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

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* The reference is to the address of Safarov, which was given on the back of the postcard as the address of the sender.—*Ed.*

TO G. L. SHKLOVSKY

Dear Comrade,

I have received your letter and replied by telegram. To avoid any misunderstandings, here are a few more details. What I meant was a *public* lecture ("Stolypin and the Revolution"), with the admission fees to go for the benefit of *Rabochaya Gazeta* (of course there is no need, or at any rate it's not obligatory, to say in the advertisement for whose benefit it is).[226] The presiding committee (or the chairman) at the meeting must be from among local *Bolsheviks*, and by no means "elected" (to avoid intrigues and scandals, to which the liquidators are very prone).

I am willing to have a talk with pro-Party people (Plekhanovites), *but not with Golosists*. It would be best of all to confine the audience to Bolsheviks.

I hope to arrive on Thursday; I will send you a telegram about the time of arrival, if I can manage it.

Please be kind enough to send this letter *at once* to Gorin [M. Gorine. Rue du Pont Neuf. 2. (Chez M-me Vire) Genève], to enable him to take steps to organise a *similar* lecture at Geneva on *Saturday*, and to reply to me through you by Thursday.

All the best,
Lenin

As regards literature for the lecture, please get together for me (α) a *file* of the C.O., (β) *Two Parties*, (γ) *Dnevnik*, (δ) Arkomed.[227]

Written between September 26 and 28, 1911
Sent from Zurich to Berne

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

1902

WHAT IS THE CADET ELECTION PLATFORM?

Saturday's editorial in *Rech*, September 15, is a virtual exposition of the basic political principles of the Constitutional-Democratic Party. What do these principles of the main party of the liberal-monarchist bourgeoisie amount to now?

They amount to three points: (1) "extension of the franchise"; (2) "radical reform of the Council of State"[228]; and, (3) "responsibility of the Ministry to the people's representatives". It goes without saying that to this are added freedom of association (coalitions) and all the other freedoms, equality of nationalities, "restraint and slowing down" of differentiation in the countryside, and so on and so forth.

Readers should compare these "three points" of the liberals with the "three points" of working-class democrats, who have given an effective reply to the political question, the labour question and the peasant question alike. The actual source of all the evils and misfortunes, their real "focus", and the way out are indicated clearly and explicitly by the "three points" of the working-class democrats.

But the liberal platform—for, not nominally but in substance, it is an election platform—of the Cadets is only a *wish* for modest constitutional reforms. It differs very little from the wishes of the Octobrists.

The main thing has been obscured; on the main thing the liberal-monarchist bourgeois party has nothing to say. The Cadets want "to win by modesty", but then let us re-

call that Messrs. Guchkovs have already tried modesty in practice. And what was the result? The result was nil!

We want very little, the Cadets boast. But, gentlemen, that "trump" has already been played by the Octobrists. In all three Dumas, the Cadets and the Octobrists vied with each other in assuring the "government" and the "public" that they want very little, a modest minimum on the European standard. The result is nil!

No, gentlemen, whether you list constitutional reforms in three points or in twenty, your platform will be a dead one. You can talk about constitutional reforms, without appearing ridiculous, only where and when the foundations and pillars of political liberty already exist, where and when they are established, assured and stable.

You yourselves know that that is not yet the case in Russia, and therefore your pious wishes do not show the people a way out but mislead them with illusory hopes!

Written between September 15 and 20
(September 28 and October 3), 1912

First published in 1954
in the journal *Kommunist* No. 6

Printed from the original

WORKERS' UNITY AND THE ELECTIONS

The issue of *Luch*, the liquidators' newspaper, put out (as a *Pravda* correspondent rightly points out) *on polling day* to disrupt unity, is filled to overflowing with talk of "unity".

The decisive moment in the elections to the workers' curia[229] in St. Petersburg Gubernia will arrive in a few days, on Friday, October 5. On that day, the representatives of the workers will elect 6 electors.[230] It is *these* elections that are of decisive importance, because *unless all* the electors are steadfast, consistent working-class democrats and opponents of liquidationism, there will be no serious guarantee that the deputy elected to the Duma will be one the majority of class-conscious workers want.

In order not to fail at the crucial moment, one must have a clear understanding of the tasks of working-class democrats and the situation in which the representatives are acting.

The essence of the problem *today* is that under cover of shouts about unity, the liquidators are *flouting* the will of the majority of class-conscious workers in St. Petersburg, and are foisting on the majority of the workers the *splinter* candidates of the *minority* intelligentsia, namely, the liquidationist intelligentsia.

All elections in a bourgeois country are accompanied by rampant phrase-mongering and licentious promises. The main principle of Social-Democrats is not to trust words but go to the heart of the matter.

The liquidators' phrases about unity in their newspaper *Luch* are a pack of lies. *In reality*, unity has already been brought about in St. Petersburg by the majority of class-conscious workers *against the liquidators*; it was established

by the May Day demonstration, and by the support given to *Pravda* by 550 groups of workers against the 16 groups of liquidators.

Now that is action, not talk. When 550 groups unite against 16, it is *unity*. When 16 *foist* "their" candidate on 550, it is a split.

The liquidators are carrying out a split, while shouting about unity on the "Stop thief!" principle.

Class-conscious workers should not let themselves be deceived by empty shouts and phrases.

Don't trust words, take a sober look at the state of affairs. The vast majority of Marxist workers are opponents of liquidationism. An insignificant minority of workers favour the liquidators, and the "strength" of the liquidators lies in the bourgeois intelligentsia, which is in a position to put out a journal, found a newspaper on polling day, get hold of "contacts", people for intellectuals' election committees, and so forth.

Every Social-Democrat in St. Petersburg knows these facts.

This clarifies the significance of the liquidators' shouts about unity. Under cover of these shouts, the bourgeois intelligentsia, which sympathises with the liquidators, wants to *destroy* the unity of the *workers* by foisting on them the liquidators' candidate.

That is the heart of the matter. That is the "crafty design" of the liquidator *Luch*.

Whoever wants the *genuine* unity of Marxist workers must help to elect all the anti-liquidator electors.

Whoever wants genuine unity will help to give effect to the will of the majority of the class-conscious workers.

Whoever helps the minority to flout their will is a most malicious disruptor, however loud his shouts of unity!

Written not later than September 18 (October 1), 1912

First published in 1954 in the journal *Kommunist* No. 6

Printed from the original

TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear K.,

I have not been following the recent peace congresses. I know about the participation of the socialists—and about its opportunist character—but only from *hearsay*.[231]

I will not undertake to express myself definitely on this question before I have read the reports of at least one congress. The question is a complicated one. The general growth of opportunism, and the "balancing" of its forces with those of revolutionary Social-Democracy in the big countries of the labour movement (Germany), must surely tell in this sphere too. Let Bebel play the diplomatist with the opportunists—*if* this is essential (?)—but it does not befit us to do so. That's all I can say just now.

Greetings to Comrade Olga and all our friends, including Gorin. How is he getting on? What news have you? What are your relations with Plekhanov? Do you have any talks?

Kamenev, on his way to Paris, will go to Switzerland to lecture in the autumn (he is now here). Perhaps I, too, shall manage to come in the winter.

Greetings,
Yours,
Lenin

Written on October 8, 1912
Sent from Cracow to Geneva

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF *PRAVDA*

Letter to the Editors

The undersigned, now in the capacity of a permanent political contributor to *Pravda* and *Nevskaya Zvezda*, considers it his duty to express his protest against the behaviour of the colleagues in charge of these newspapers at a critical time.

The elections in St. Petersburg, both in the workers' curia and in the 2nd urban curia, are a critical moment, a moment for realising the results of five years of work, a moment for determining, in many respects, the direction of work for the next five years.

At such a moment, the leading organ of working-class democrats must follow a clear, firm, and precisely defined policy. But *Pravda*, which is in many respects effectively the leading organ, is *not* conducting such a policy.

Luch and *Metallist*,[232] with their desperate shouts about "unity", are carrying on under that "popular" flag the worst policy of the liquidators, namely, insubordination of an insignificant minority to the vast majority of Marxist workers in St. Petersburg, imposition of the candidate of some three, five or ten tiny groups of intellectuals and a handful of workers on *hundreds* of consistent working-class democratic groups.

During the few days remaining before the election of workers' electors, during the few weeks remaining before elections in St. Petersburg in the 2nd curia, it is *Pravda*'s undoubted duty to carry on a *merciless* fight against this *deception* of the mass of workers, behind the barrage of pious and popular phrases. Its bounden duty is in the

most detailed fashion to explain, demonstrate, chew up for all and sundry, 1st, that liquidationism is a non-Marxist, liberal trend;

2nd, that unity requires the subordination of the minority to the majority, whereas the liquidators are beyond doubt, as the experience of eight months' work shows, an insignificant minority;

3rd, that those who want to support the *working-class* democracy must know *where* the mass of workers stand, and *where* the philistine intelligentsia, which is playing at Marxism;

4th, that the conference which the liquidators and *Luch* are fussing about has been denounced and exposed *both* by the neutral Plekhanov (he said straight out that "*non-Party* and *anti-Party* elements" took part in their conference) *and* even by Alexinsky, who is hostile to the anti-liquidators.

And so on, and so forth.

Unless *Pravda* explains all this in good time, *it* will be responsible for the confusion and the disruption, since, having the vast majority of the workers behind it and having explained matters in good time, *Pravda* would *most certainly* have ensured unity, because the liquidators are past masters at boasting and threats, but would never dare act against *Pravda*.

Pravda itself has admitted that there are two clearly formalised lines, platforms, collective wills (the August, or liquidators', line and the January line). Yet *Pravda* creates the opinion that it is carrying on some third line "of its own", invented only yesterday by someone and amounting (as we have learned from St. Petersburg through other channels, since *Pravda*'s editorial board has stubbornly refused to favour us with a reply) either to letting the liquidators have one of the three candidates, or handing over to them the whole of the 2nd curia "in exchange for the workers' curia". If these rumours are untrue, *Pravda* bears the entire *responsibility* for them, because you cannot sow such uncertainty among Marxists that unquestionable *friends*, Marxists, believe these rumours. and pass them on.

At this hot time, *Nevskaya Zvezda* is closed down, with-

out a single letter or explanation, collective exchange of opinion is *completely* interrupted, and political contributors are left *in the dark*, not knowing *whom* they are helping after all to get elected; may it not be a liquidator? I am obliged hotly to protest against this, and to decline any responsibility for this abnormal situation, which is pregnant with drawn-out conflicts.

Please communicate this letter to the "boss" of *Pravda* and *Nevskaya Zvezda*, to the whole editorial board of both papers and all contributors who are consistent working-class democrats.

Greetings,
V. Ilyin

Written in the first half of October 1912
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg

First published in 1956 in the journal *Kommunist* No. 5

Printed from the original

TO THE EDITOR OF *PRAVDA*

Dear Friend,

Don't you find it strange that we have had an active and extremely lively correspondence on one particular theoretical question, one particular book, one particular theory, and that we have never had any correspondence on the vitally urgent questions of that sphere of Russian journalism in which both of us have had to take some considerable part in recent times?

I personally find it strange. I think there can absolutely be no circumstances—and there are none—which could serve as any kind of justification for the absence of such correspondence, since you yourself once pointed out, and quite rightly, that we all feel the harmfulness of detachment, isolation, a certain solitude, etc.

I hope, therefore, that I will meet with your support if I start right out with correspondence No. 2 (for No. 1, about the book and the theory, is proceeding on its own and will continue to do so).

You were acquainted, I think, though distantly, with Pokrovsky 2nd? What do you think of the latest explanation by the Senate? I mean the one under which the tenant qualification requires actual occupation of the premises? After all, it looks as though this explanation, made just before the elections in the 2nd curia, is specifically aimed at Pokrovsky 2nd, Predkaln, etc.! Can they have any other qualification in their own localities except that of tenant? And how could they, being members of the Duma, "actually occupy" their apartments in their localities-for, say, a-year? And if they are being "explained", should not Pokrovsky 2nd be invited to stand in St. Petersburg, where

he probably has a qualification that is much more reliable, i.e., one less subject to "explanation"? I personally would very much sympathise with such a candidature in St. Petersburg (alongside the two evidently indisputable candidates who caused the stupid and brazen *Luch* to come out with its stupid and brazenly cowardly repudiation). I shall be most grateful if you summon the effort to drop me a line or two (in reply to my 200) on your views of this matter.

Furthermore, I should like to discuss the two workers' papers at St. Petersburg. *Luch* is base and unprincipled: it's not a paper, but a "leaflet for subverting" the Social-Democratic candidate. But they know how to fight, they are lively and glib. Meanwhile *Pravda* is carrying on now, at election time, like a sleepy old maid. *Pravda* doesn't know how to fight. It does not attack, it does not persecute either the Cadet or the liquidator. But can an organ of forward-looking democrats *not* be a fighting organ at a hot time like this? Let's give it the benefit of the doubt: let's assume that *Pravda* is sure that the anti-liquidators will win. *All the same* it should fight to let the *country* know what is involved, *who* is disrupting the election campaign, and *what ideas* are at stake in the struggle. *Luch* is fighting furiously, hysterically, abandoning its principles in the most shameless fashion. *Pravda*—to spite it—puts on a "serious mien", affects various airs and graces, and fails to fight at all! Does that look like Marxism? After all, didn't Marx know how to combine war, the most passionate, whole-hearted and merciless war, with complete loyalty to principle?

Not to fight at election time is suicide. Look at what *Luch*'s "Cadet-eating" has come to! And the *Pravda* people were afraid that we might be overdoing the Cadet-eating!

Best wishes,
Yours,
V. Ilyin

Written after October 3, 1912
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg

First published in 1956
in the journal *Kommunist* No. 5

Printed from the original

TO THE EDITOR OF *PRAVDA*

Dear Friend,

We learned only today of the liquidators' victory in St. Petersburg. An analysis of the figures makes it clear that they were got through by *non-Social-Democrats*, namely, the 11 "non-Party" men who voted for the non-Party Stepanov. But the figures are incomplete. It is extremely, extremely important to have the complete figures, i.e., (1) the number of votes for and *against all* 13 candidates; the newspapers give only the figures for 9 candidates (3 liquidators and 6 of ours); those for 3 liquidators and 1 non-Party candidate are missing. Make *every* effort to collect these data. Let several representatives write to the editors of the papers to establish this fact, if the minutes cannot be found. The importance of these figures is extremely great. Spare no effort to discover them. (2) There should be a poll of the representatives on who voted how. This is of particular importance with respect to "our" 7 Putilov workers+2 of ours from the Semyannikov Works. Collect the information as speedily, as fully and as precisely as possible. It is extremely important to learn from the representatives *how* the 11 non-Party men voted (apparently they all voted steadily for the liquidators, but it is desirable to collect direct evidence).

Written on November 2, 1912
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg

First published in 1956
in the journal *Kommunist* No. 5

Printed from the original

TO THE EDITOR OF *PRAVDA*

Dear Colleague,

I wrote to Gorky as you requested, and received a reply from him today. He writes:

"Send the enclosed note to *Pravda*. There is no question of fee, that is nonsense. I will work for the paper, and will soon begin sending it manuscripts. I couldn't do it up to now only because I have been desperately busy, putting in about 12 hours a day; it's back-breaking work."

As you see, Gorky's attitude is very friendly.* I hope you will reciprocate, and *see* that *Pravda* is sent to him *regularly*. The forwarding department sometimes slips up, so that from time to time you must check and check again.

If you want to retain his friendly interest, send him (through me) any new publication which might be of interest to him, and also any particular manuscripts.

I would very much ask you to send me *Pravda* Nos. 146, 147, 148 and *Nevskaya Zvezda* Nos. 26 and 27, at least two copies of each.

Are you thinking of replying to *Luch*'s maliciously vicious attacks? These rascals first broke away, and are now shouting about a split! Their *list* did get *less* {the total vote for the whole list, all 6 candidates} both on Oct. 17 and on Oct. 18! Get hold *without fail* of the exact figures of the polling for *all* the liquidator candidates, from Zaitsev or some other of the electors. This is *terribly* important! And buy the *printed* list of representatives at the office

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* I enclose Gorky's letter to *Sovremenny Mir*[233] requesting them to hand his *Tale* over to you. *Get it as soon as possible.*

of the St. Petersburg city authorities, as I asked! Make sure to *do* this without fail!

All the best,
Yours....

Congratulations and good wishes to all the staff, editors and friends of *Pravda* on the occasion of the victory of its supporters in St. Petersburg, Kharkov and elsewhere!

P.S. Be sure to write now about the circulation of *Pravda* and *Luch*! Have you enough material?

Written on November 2, 1912
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg

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in the journal *Kommunist* No. 5

Printed from the original

TO G. V. PLEKHANOV

November 17, 1912

Dear Comrade,

I have just sent you a telegram about our agreement to the combination which you decided upon with Rubanovich.

We ask you to lay before the commission,[234] by way of information, our *shade of opinion*, too, if we happen to differ with you on the following point.

Kautsky's article in No. 6 of *Neue Zeit*, after the October session of the I.S.B.,[235] is obviously the official opinion of the Germans, the Austrians and others. We do not accept the main point of the article (S. 191-92, from the words "*Dabei müssen*"* to "*heischenden Massen*"** *in particular*).[236]

With Kautsky it turns out to be a *pledge* against a *revolutionary* mass strike. This is inadmissible bath from the Russian standpoint (there are 100,000 political strikers *now* in St. Petersburg, with revolutionary meetings and sympathies for the sailors' *mutiny*!) and from the general European standpoint. However, you know our point of view from our writings, and I hope you will not object to having a talk with Comrade Kamenev.

Comrade Kamenev is our delegate to the I.S.B. (M. Rosenfeld, 11. Rue Roli. 11. Paris XIV).

Please cable him if you are not going, and if you are,

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* In this connection, must.—*Ed.*

** Clamouring masses.—*Ed.*

please see him *before* the commission at Basle (M. Rosenfeld. Poste Restante, *Bâle*).

If you don't go for some reason, please send your vote in writing for the election (of Rubanovich or Kamenev) to the commission.

Respectfully yours,
N. Lenin

Wl. Uljanow. 47. Lubomirskiego. Autriche. Krakau.

Sent from Cracow to San Remo

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

AFTER THE ELECTIONS IN AMERICA

We have already pointed out in *Pravda*[237] the great importance of the Republican Party split in America and the formation of Roosevelt's Progressive Party.[238]

Now the elections are over. The Democrats have won, and at once the consequences predicted by the socialists are beginning to tell. Roosevelt's Progressive Party, with its 4.5 million votes, is a specimen of the broad bourgeois-reformist trend which has come on the scene in sweeping American fashion.

What happens to this trend is of general interest because, in one form or another, it exists *in all* capitalist countries.

In any bourgeois-reformist trend there are two main streams: the bourgeois bigwigs and politicians, who deceive the masses with promises of reform, and the cheated masses, who feel that they cannot go on living in the old way, and follow the quack with the loudest promises. And so we find the brand-new Progressive Party in America splitting at the seams right after the elections.

The bourgeois politicians who made use of Roosevelt's quackery to dupe the masses are already yelling about a *merger* with the Republican Party. What's the idea? It is simply this: the politicians want the cushy jobs which the victorious party in America hands out to its supporters with especial brazenness. The Republican split gave the victory to the Democrats. These are now ecstatically sharing out the luscious public pie. Is it surprising that their rivals are prepared to renounce the Progressive Party and return to the *consolidated* Republican Party, which has every chance of defeating the Democrats?

Indeed, this looks very much like a cynical cheap sale

of "party loyalties". But we see exactly the same thing in *all* capitalist countries; and the *less* freedom there is in a country, the dirtier and fouler is this sale of party loyalties among the bourgeois sharks, and the greater is the importance of backstairs intrigues and private connections in procuring concessions, subsidies, bonanza legal cases (for the lawyers), etc.

The other wing of any bourgeois-reformist trend—the cheated masses—has now also revealed itself in the highly original, free and lucid American style. "Scores who had voted for the Progressive Party," writes *Appeal to Reason*,[239] the New York workers' paper, "now come to socialist editorial offices and bureaux for all kinds of information. They are mostly young people, trusting, inexperienced. They are the sheep shorn by Roosevelt, without any knowledge of politics or economics. They instinctively feel that the Socialist Party, with its one million votes, is a more serious proposition than Roosevelt's 4.5 million, and what they want to know most is whether the minimum reforms promised by Roosevelt can be implemented."

"Needless to say," the paper adds, "we are glad to give every one of these 'progressives' *any* information, and never let any of them leave without socialist literature."

The lot of capitalism is such that its sharpest operators cannot help "working"—for socialism!

Written before November 25
(December 8), 1912

First published in 1954
in the journal *Kommunist* No. 6

Printed from the original

TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF *PRAVDA*

Dear Colleagues,

I am in urgent need of No. 8 of *Pravda*. You wrote that you hadn't got it. Please insert the following advertisement in *Pravda*—I write Nos. 5-10, instead of No. 8, to be on the safe side.

This is often done. I particularly ask you to do this.

Yours,
V. Ilyin

What's the matter with Olminsky? Is it true that he is ill?

Pravda

To complete our file, we are in need of 1 copy each of Nos. 5-10. Readers are earnestly requested to send in their spare copies.

Editorial Board and Management

Written on November 26, 1912
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg

First published in 1956
in the journal *Kommunist* No. 5

Printed from the original

MORE ZEAL THAN SENSE

Each has his own preoccupations: the proletariat sees the need for peace, and the capitalists look to the "patriotic" examples provided by the Balkan War. To each his own. The workers insist that in terms of human life a Balkan revolution would have cost a hundred times less than the Balkan War, and would have produced democratic results a thousand times broader and more stable.

The capitalists—both the "Right" and the liberals, all the way up to our Progressists and Cadets—are straining to prove that whereas the banded capitalists in the Balkans have pocketed so much, the banded capitalists of Britain, France and Russia, as an "entente", could have made off with ever so much more.

One American "patriot", a patriot of the money-bag, managed to find out that some ships in the Greek navy had been built by Greek millionaire magnates at their own expense.

This American Guchkov or Maklakov hastened to advertise and play up the grand patriotic example in every way. He wrote: "Now if only our country's shores and all our overseas trade were protected by giant dreadnoughts called *Morgan*, *Astor*, *Vanderbilt* and *Rockefeller*! With such an example before them, the people would grumble less about the concentration of capital in the hands of billionaires and about the unequal distribution of wealth!"

Patriotic, but impractical, say the American workers laughing. Gentlemen, go ahead with your splendid scheme, we're all *for* it. Until now, the Rockefellers, Morgans, etc., over here in America have been hiring private detachments of armed men to protect their property and fight

strikers. Let the billionaires now give the people a clear picture showing that the "external" defence of the "state" is *defence of the monopolies and the profits* of the owners of our trusts! Let's see what lesson the American workers will learn as they contemplate these super-dreadnoughts named *Morgan*, *Rockefeller*, etc.: will it be patriotic emotion or socialist convictions? Will they become more servile to the capitalists, or will they demand with greater firmness that all trusts (manufacturers' associations), all the property of the trusts, should be handed over to the workers, to society as a whole?

...The American "patriot" has overdone it....

Written before November 26
(December 9), 1912

First published in 1954
in the journal *Kommunist* No. 6

Printed from the original

THE QUESTION OF PARTY AFFILIATION AMONG DEMOCRATIC-MINDED STUDENTS

We noted in *Pravda* the other day (see No.)[240] the article by the student M. which provides remarkably valuable material about "student moods". On students' party affiliation, the writer says:

"Of course, a comparatively limited section of the students are members of Left-wing organisations. In existing conditions, it could not be otherwise, and in general the strength of organisations is determined not by the number of their members, but by their influence on the masses. It is hard to make a guess about the future, but it should be pointed out that today the Left-wing organisations are marching in step with the mass of the students" (*Zaprosy Zhizni*[241] No. 47).

The author is quite right when he says that *with us* in Russia, *particularly* in the current political conditions, "the strength of organisations is determined *not* by the number of their members, *but* by their influence on the masses". This would not hold true for Europe; nor would it hold true for Russia in the autumn of 1905; but for present-day Russia it is so true that one might even venture what looks like a paradox: the number of members of an organisation should not exceed a definite minimum, *if* its influence on the masses is to be broad *and stable*!

But what is the party attitude of these "Left-wing" organisations among the students? Student M. writes:

"It should be particularly noted that one does not feel any dissension among the individual Left-wing organisations. Such dissension was particularly strong three or so years ago, during the period of lull and inaction. There were cases when elections to canteen commissions and the like were held according to party lists. Now these divisions have almost disappeared, partly because everyone has realised the need to join forces for common action, partly because the old party

positions have been unsettled and the new ones have yet to be consolidated."

There can be no doubt that in this respect, as well, the students provide a reflection of an all-Russia phenomenon. Everywhere, throughout the democratic movement, and also among the workers, "the old party positions have been unsettled and the new ones have yet to be consolidated". What is liquidationism? It is either a pusillanimous concession to the spirit of the times, to the atmosphere of "unsettlement" of the old party positions, or the malicious utilisation of this unsettlement by the liberals.

The task of the *whole* democratic movement is to fight with all its strength against this "unsettlement", and to achieve a precise, clear, definite, thoughtful "consolidation" of the "new positions". It would be a great mistake to confuse the arguments and discussions on party (and inner-party) platforms with "dissensions".

It is absolutely necessary "to join forces for common action", including, for instance, those of Marxists and Narodniks. This does not obviate a definite party stand, but, on the contrary, *demands* it. It is possible to combine action only when there is *real* unity of conviction as to whether the particular action is necessary. That is as clear as daylight. Russian democracy has been the worse for trying to "join forces" for *democratic* action with *non*-democrats, with the liberals!

Try and "join the forces" of the supporters, shall we say, of political strikes with the "forces" of their adversaries: there will obviously be *harm* for the "action". Hence, the first thing to do is to achieve a clear, definite, precise, well-thought-out delimitation of "positions", platforms and programmes—and then to *combine* the forces that *can* march together by conviction and social nature; combine them *only* for the action on which unanimity can be expected. Then, and only then, will any good come of the undertaking.

V. I.

Written between November 24 and 29 (December 7 and 12), 1912

First published in 1954 in the journal *Kommunist* No. 6

Printed from the original

TO G. L. SHKLOVSKY

Your letter is the first, I believe, to offer a "report" on Basle![242] It's rather late.... Evidently something was lacking (or in excess?) at Basle.... I believe that what the delegates lacked was organisation. And that is extremely sad. Kamenev, of course, was run off his feet, but what about the other five? Was it really not clear that it was necessary to write to *Pravda daily*? Was it really so difficult to assign the various duties? We've not had a single letter in *Pravda* from the spot, while the liquidators had *several* in *Luch*.

Isn't it a shame? Of course, so long as we sleep and the liquidators work, they will make more headway. Is anything being done to collect money for *Pravda*? It doesn't look like it, while the liquidators have reports in *Luch* of *collections* abroad. Yet *Pravda* is very, very, very much in *need*.

Not a single one of the delegates (except Kamenev) has written here about Basle. It was essential to get organised and write twice a day. But all kept silent. Evidently there is some dissatisfaction. What with? God only knows! I am *tremendously* satisfied with the *results* of Basle, because the liquidator idiots let themselves be caught out on the question of the initiating group![243] You couldn't have pinned down the riffraff better. But I'm worried by the inactivity of our delegates, and a sort of "in-the-pouts" behaviour on their part, for no apparent reason. Did they talk with the German delegates? (After all, 4 or 5 did *know* German!) Who? With whom? How? What about? There's not a word, except from Kamenev. Agitation among the Germans is *very* important.

You write that "with us things are not too good in the press and in the Duma group". They are not too good with *Prosveshcheniye*.[244] There is no money. It's a serious crisis. It should be given help to enable it to pull through.

Pravda's circulation is about 23,000. *Luch* has 8,000-9,000. It would be sinful to complain thus far. But in April and May *Pravda* had 60,000, and in the summer dropped to 20,000. It's rising *very* slowly. *Without help it won't pull through*. In the Duma group things are better than ever before. All the six seats in the workers' curia are *ours*.[245] That's something we've *never* had. For the first time, we have taken the South. Six and six out of 12. Mankov is a Menshevik. Rusanov is a question mark. We can fight. Here are precise data on our progress. Deputies in the workers' curia:

II	Duma— 12	Mensheviks,	11	Bolsheviks	(=47%)	("Minutes of
III	Duma— 4	"	4	"	(=50%)	London Congress",
IV	Duma— 3	"	6	"	(=67%)	p. 451).[246]

If you have anyone anywhere who is losing heart, let him think over these figures and be ashamed of his faint-heartedness. *For the first time* we have among our people in the Duma an *outstanding* workers' *leader* (Malinovsky). He will read the declaration. There's no comparing him with Alexinsky. And the results—maybe not at once—will be *great*. In the III Duma we started out with 0!

In the sphere of illegal work, thanks to the Bureau's moving here, more has been done than before. We are moving ahead, even if slowly. We are publishing illegally more than others. But we have no money. If we get help, we shall also publish *Rabochaya Gazeta*, etc.

Illegal work can be helped from abroad only by visits. Then help is *very* important in the form of new connections (1) letters; (2) chance visits; (3) *passports*; (4) etc., etc. *What is being done in this respect is not enough*. Only one per cent is being done in the localities abroad of what could be done. The most important thing right now is to help *Pravda* to *pull through*. And it is getting poor help. One man in Vienna (Bukharin) is making an effort. But *nothing* is being done in the other cities! No one writes regular reports. No one makes *collections*. No one collects interest-

ing local books and pamphlets for dispatch here ...* material for interesting articles. Comrades, we must give more thought to these things! For example, who among the Social-Democrats at Neuenburg in Switzerland ... has done anything? What has been done about it?

All the best....

P.S. Please send this letter to Yuri, for him to pass on to Antonov in Paris, and from there on to Vienna. To this day, we have not yet found out whether Plekhanov had spoken at the October meeting of the Bureau on unity with the S.R.s (cf. Martov in No. 37 of *Luch*.[247]) Didn't anyone make inquiries about this with Rubanovich, or Němec, or Huysmans, or anyone else?

Written before December 20, 1912
Sent from Cracow to Berne

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

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of the original

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* An illegible word in the copy at this point looks like "as".—*Ed.*

IN AMERICA

The 32nd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labour, as the association of trade unions is called, has come to a close in Rochester. Alongside the rapidly growing Socialist Party, this association is a living relic of the past: of the old craft-union, liberal-bourgeois traditions that hang full weight over America's working-class *aristocracy*.

On August 31, 1911, the Federation had 1,841,268 members. Samuel Gompers, a strong opponent of socialism, was re-elected President. But Max Hayes, the socialist workers' candidate, received 5,074 votes against Gompers's 11,974, whereas previously Gompers used to be elected unanimously. The struggle of the socialists against the "trade unionists" in the American trade union movement is slowly but surely leading to the victory of the former over the latter.

Gompers not only fully accepts the bourgeois myth of "harmony between labour and capital", but carries on a downright bourgeois policy in the Federation against the socialist one, although he professes to stand for the complete political "neutrality" of the trade unions! During the recent presidential elections in America, Gompers reprinted in the Federation's official publication the programmes and platforms of all three bourgeois parties (Democrats, Republicans and Progressists) but did *not* reprint the programme of the *Socialist* Party!

Protests against this mode of action were voiced at the Rochester Convention even by Gompers's own followers.

The state of affairs in the American labour movement shows us, as it does in Britain, the remarkably clear-cut

division between purely trade unionist and socialist strivings, the split between *bourgeois labour policy* and socialist labour policy. For, strange as it may seem, in capitalist society even the working class can carry on a bourgeois policy, if it forgets about its emancipatory aims, puts up with wage-slavery and confines itself to seeking alliances now with one bourgeois party, now with another, for the sake of imaginary "improvements" in its indentured condition.

The principal historical cause of the particular prominence and (temporary) strength of bourgeois labour policy in Britain and America is the long-standing political liberty and the exceptionally favourable conditions, in comparison with other countries, for the deep-going and widespread development of capitalism. These conditions have tended to produce within the working class an aristocracy that has trailed behind the bourgeoisie, *betraying* its own class.

In the twentieth century, this peculiar situation in Britain and America is rapidly disappearing. Other countries are catching up with Anglo-Saxon capitalism, and the *mass* of workers are learning about socialism at first hand. The faster the growth of world capitalism, the sooner will socialism triumph in America and Britain.

Written before December 7 and 20)
1912

First published in 1954
in the journal *Kommunist* No. 6

Printed from the original

THE WORKING CLASS AND ITS "PARLIAMENTARY" REPRESENTATIVES

ARTICLE THREE[248]

The Social-Democratic group in the Third Duma was the first Social-Democratic parliamentary group in Russia to manage to exist for several years and to stand a long "test" of working jointly with the party of the working class. For obvious reasons we cannot here tell the story of this work. We can and must point out only the most important feature: what was the *impact* of the Party's development on the Duma group, and how did *relations* between the group and the Party change.

First of all, we have to establish the fact that the early steps in the activity of the Social-Democratic group in the Third Duma aroused the strong dissatisfaction and sharp disapproval of the Majority of the Party. The group was largely dominated by the Mensheviks, who were in opposition to the Party's 1907 decisions,[249] and the Social-Democratic group in the Third Duma continued or took over this "opposition".

A kind of struggle began between the Party and the group. The group's declaration was attacked—and quite rightly—for its opportunism. The periodicals which represented the opinion of the Majority of the Party, or of the Party as a whole, repeatedly criticised the group's opportunist steps, and noted that on a number of questions the group had either failed to set forth the Party's views in full, or had expressed them wrongly.

A long list of the mistakes and erroneous actions of the Third Duma group subject to correction was officially

recognised in December 1908.[250] Naturally, it was clearly stated at the time that the responsibility fell not only on the group, but also on the *whole* Party, which ought to pay more attention to its Duma group and work *more closely* with it.

The results of that work are there for all to see. Between 1908 and 1912, the Right wing of Menshevism in the Party developed into *liquidationism*. The four-year struggle of both Bolsheviks and pro-Party Mensheviks[251] against liquidationism cannot be excised from history, however much *Luch* would like to do so.

During these four years, the Social-Democratic Duma group, from being in opposition *to* the Party, from being a group criticised by the Party and defended (and sometimes directly encouraged in its opportunism) by the Mensheviks, became an *anti-liquidationist* group.

The group's connections with the various newspapers by 1912 have provided documentary evidence of this. Astrakhantsev and Kuznetsov contributed to the liquidationist *Zhivoye Dyelo*. Belousov did too, but he soon *left the group altogether*, sending it an *extremely liquidationist* message with sympathetic references to Martov and *Nasha Zarya*[252] (Mr. Belousov's historic message will probably soon appear in the press).

Furthermore, Shurkanov wrote both for the liquidationist and for the anti-liquidationist newspapers. Gegechkori and Chkheidze wrote for neither. The other *8 members of the group* (Voronin, Voiloshnikov, Yegorov, Zakharov, Pokrovsky, Predkaln, Poletayev and Surkov) contributed to the *anti-liquidationist* publications.

In 1911-12 *Nasha Zarya* repeatedly expressed its dissatisfaction with the Social-Democratic Duma group: the liquidators could not be pleased at the Menshevik group's siding with the anti-liquidators.

The experience of work in the Black-Hundred Duma, and the experience of struggle against the Right wing of Menshevism, which has sunk into the swamp of liquidationism, all tended to push the Social-Democratic group in the Third Duma to the left, towards the Party, and away from opportunism.

Very many, especially those who find it unpleasant,

are wont to forget this remarkable story of the four-year *struggle of the Party for a Party attitude* in the group (which only means, of course, its ideological orientation, its line). But the story is a fact. It should be remembered. It should be the point of departure in assessing the work of the group in the Fourth Duma. Of this, more in the next article.

V. I.

Written in the first half of December 1912

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THE WORKING CLASS AND ITS "PARLIAMENTARY" REPRESENTATIVES

ARTICLE FIVE

The resolution on the Jagiello issue[253] was the first step of the Social-Democratic group in the Fourth Duma which gave an idea of its composition and direction of activity. We learn from the newspapers that it was adopted by 7 Menshevik votes against 6 Bolsheviks. Consequently, it is clear that we have here a decision adopted contrary to the opinion of the majority of the Party, since the 6 worker deputies from the six chief industrial gubernias represent, as we have seen, the vast majority of the working-class party.

But, perhaps, the *content* of the resolution shows it to be correct?

Let us turn to the content.

Clause 1 refers to "the lack of precise data for establishing whether the larger or the smaller part of the Warsaw proletariat gave their votes" for Jagiello as an "*elector*".

So, in the opinion of 7 Social-Democratic deputies, the question is not clear. Yet they speak quite definitely of the *Warsaw*, and not of the Polish, proletariat, as the liquidators and the Bund do (see *Luch* and *Nasha Zarya*). But we know *for sure* that the "Warsaw proletariat" "*has chosen as electors*" two Social-Democrats and one P.S.P.[254] man (Jagiello).

Two are a majority as against one. So that there are very *precise* data to the effect that Jagiello was voted in by a *minority*. What is more, the *majority* of the worker electors (both Social-Democrats) were *against* the election of Jagiello,

and made a *formal* declaration to that effect. The liquidators referred to Jagiello's larger vote, but this does not eliminate the *fact* that *two* Social-Democrats and *one* P.S.P. member were chosen as electors.

In any case, by ignoring in its resolution the *protest* of the two Social-Democratic electors, who represented *all* the Polish Social-Democrats in Warsaw, the Seven acted in an *anti-Party way*, because until now *only* the Polish Social-Democrats have been affiliated to the Russian Social-Democratic Party.

But the 2nd clause of the resolution is even worse. The election of Jagiello "by Jewish bourgeois electors", we are told, "marks the growth of awareness even in bourgeois circles" (!? in *Jewish* bourgeois circles?) "of the fact that only socialists can be real fighters for the just (?!) interests of oppressed nationalities".

Everyone knows that the Jewish bourgeois have not shown the least sign of any such "awareness". They *preferred* a Polish bourgeois, but were *obliged* to elect a socialist for lack of any other supporter of equality. It was not "the growth of awareness", but the growth of *difficulties* caused by the national struggle among the bourgeois, that has given deputy Jagiello his seat!

A worker elector can (and should) *utilise* the "difficulties" of two thieves who have fallen out to get an honest man into the Duma. That is unquestionable. The opposite view held by a section of the Polish Social-Democrats (the so-called chief executive which has lost the *chief* city, Warsaw) does not hold good.

But when an honest man has entered the Duma because two thieves fell out, it is ridiculous and absurd to say that *one of the thieves* displayed a "growth of awareness". It is this lauding of Jewish bourgeois electors—not at all necessary even to *justify* Jagiello's mandate—that proves the *opportunism* of the seven members of the group, and shows their *non-proletarian* attitude on the national question.

The Seven *in their resolution* should have condemned and branded national animosity in general, and the Polish bourgeois for their anti-Semitism *in particular*—that would have been something. But to attribute a "growth of aware-

ness" to Jewish bourgeois is merely to display one's own *lack* of awareness.

Clause 3 undertakes to prove that Jagiello is a Social-Democrat. How is this proved? (1) "By his statement." That is no proof. *Party* people reckon with the *organisation* of which X is a member, and not with any "statement" by X. Only the liquidators can forget this ABC.* (2) "The support of Jagiello's candidature by the Bund and P.S.P. bloc."

But where, in that case, are the Polish Social-Democrats? A bloc *without them* and *against them* (the withdrawal of Warsaw's two Social-Democratic electors) is proof of the *anti-Party attitude* of the Bund, as was recognised even by the conciliation-minded Plekhanov!

In Clause 4 we read: "The P.S.P. is not yet united with the Russian Social-Democratic Party." That is a half-truth! Why have the Seven *said nothing* of the fact that a Party resolution (December 1908) had *rejected* unity with the P.S.P.? Was it only to please those who would liquidate the Party?

The conclusion from the whole of this lame and miserable resolution is *separation* of "questions of the internal life of the Russian Social-Democratic Party" from "questions of political activity in the Duma". This is a thoroughly bad separation. *Party* people cannot separate these questions. To separate them is to separate the Duma group from the Party. It is the worst kind of opportunism and the introduction of great confusion. Tactics are determined by the Party's "internal" decisions. Is it *these* tactics or some other, "non-Party", tactics that should be applied in "political activity in the Duma"?

A candidate of the Bund, which wants to be considered a section of the Social-Democratic Party, is *deprived* of a decisive vote on "questions of the internal life of the Social-Democratic Party". This is the only positive point in the muddled resolution of the seven deputies, who have been confused by the liquidators.

Class-conscious workers should do their utmost to help them sort things out, to explain to them the mistake they

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* The sentence is crossed out in the MS.—*Ed.*

have made, and to work hard (in the Fourth Duma as they did in the Third) to *straighten out* the Duma group. A mistake at the outset is not so terrible in itself—this was rightly pointed out by K. Stalin[255]; what alone is important is that the working-class democrats should openly and frankly *recognise* the mistake and secure its recognition. Then the continuation will be better than the beginning.

V. I.

Be sure to notify me of the receipt of this article, and should you, by any chance, decide not to carry it, return it without delay, for I shall then have it published elsewhere.

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1913

EUGÈNE POTTIER

THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF HIS DEATH

In November of last year—1912—it was twenty-five years since the death of the French worker-poet, Eugène Pottier, author of the famous proletarian song, the *Internationale* ("Arise ye starvelings from your slumbers", etc.).

This song has been translated into all European and other languages. In whatever country a class-conscious worker finds himself, wherever fate may cast him, however much he may feel himself a stranger, without language, without friends, far from his native country—he can find himself comrades and friends by the familiar refrain of the *Internationale*.

The workers of all countries have adopted the song of their foremost fighter, the proletarian poet, and have made it the world-wide song of the proletariat.

And so the workers of all countries now honour the memory of Eugène Pottier. His wife and daughter are still alive and living in poverty, as the author of the *Internationale* lived all his life. He was born in Paris on October 4, 1816. He was 14 when he composed his first song, and it was called: *Long Live Liberty*! In 1848 he was a fighter on the barricades in the workers' great battle against the bourgeoisie.

Pottier was born into a poor family, and all his life remained a poor man, a proletarian, earning his bread as a packer and later by tracing patterns on fabrics.

From 1840 onwards, he responded to all great events in the life of France with militant songs, awakening the consciousness of the backward, calling on the workers to

unite, castigating the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois governments of France.

In the days of the great Paris Commune (1871), Pottier was elected a member. Of the 3,600 votes cast, he received 3,352. He took part in all the activities of the Commune, that first proletarian government.

The fall of the Commune forced Pottier to flee to England, and then to America. His famous song, the *Internationale*, was written in *July 1871*—you might say, the day after the bloody defeat in May.

The Commune was crushed—but Pottier's *Internationale* spread its ideas throughout the world, and it is now more alive than ever before.

In 1876, in exile, Pottier wrote a poem, *The Workingmen of America to the Workingmen of France*. In it he described the life of workers under the yoke of capitalism, their poverty, their back-breaking toil, their exploitation, and their firm confidence in the coming victory of their cause.

It was only nine years after the Commune that Pottier returned to France, where he at once joined the Workers' Party. The first volume of his verse was published in 1884, the second volume, entitled *Revolutionary Songs*, came out in 1887.

A number of other songs by the worker-poet were published after his death.

On November 8, 1887, the workers of Paris carried the remains of Eugène Pottier to the Père Lachaise cemetery, where the executed Communards are buried. The police savagely attacked the crowd in an effort to snatch the red banner. A vast crowd took part in the civic funeral. On all sides there were shouts of "Long live Pottier!"

Pottier died in poverty. But he left a memorial which is truly more enduring than the handiwork of man. He was one of the greatest *propagandists by song*. When he was composing his first song, the number of worker socialists ran to tens, at most. Eugène Pottier's historic song is now known to tens of millions of proletarians.

Pravda No. 2, January 3, 1913
Signed: *N. L.*

Printed from the *Pravda* text

THE DEVELOPMENT OF WORKERS' CHOIRS IN GERMANY

The workers' choral societies of Germany recently celebrated a kind of jubilee: the number of worker-singers reached 100,000, with a total membership of 165,000 in these societies. The number of women workers in them is 11,000.

The workers' choirs have their own periodical, *Arbeiter-Sänger Zeitung*, which began to appear regularly only in 1907.

The beginnings of the workers' choral societies date back to the 1860s. A choral section was founded in the Leipzig Artisans' Educational Society, and one of its members was August Bebel.

Ferdinand Lassalle attached great importance to the organising of workers' choirs. At his insistence, members of the General Association of German Workers[256] founded, at Frankfurt am Main in 1863, a workers' society called the Choral Union. This Union held its meetings in the dark and smoky back room of a Frankfurt tavern. The room was lit with tallow candles.

There were 12 members of the Union. Once, when Lassalle, on one of his speaking tours, stayed overnight at Frankfurt, these 12 worker-singers sang him a song by the well-known poet Herwegh, whom Lassalle had long been urging to write the words for a workers' chorus.

In 1892, after the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law,[257] there were 180 workers' choral societies in Germany with 4,300 members. In 1901, the membership reached 39,717, in 1907, 93,000, and by 1912, 165,000. Berlin is said to have 5,352 members of workers' choral societies; Hamburg, 1,628; Leipzig, 4,051; Dresden, 4,700, etc.

We recently reported how the workers of France and other Romance countries had marked the 25th anniversary of the death of Eugène Pottier (1816-1887), the author of the famous *Internationale*.* In Germany, the propaganda of socialism by workers' songs is much more recent, and the "Junker" (landowners', Black-Hundred) government of Germany has been throwing up many more foul police obstacles to such propaganda.

But no amount of police harassment can prevent the singing of the hearty proletarian song about mankind's coming emancipation from wage-slavery in all the great cities of the world, in all the factory neighbourhoods, and more and more frequently in the huts of village labourers.

Written after January 3 (16), 1913

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Signed: *T.*

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* See pp. 223-24 of this volume.—*Ed.*

TO N. A. RUBAKIN

February 13, 1913

Dear Comrade,

I cannot agree to your alterations. The book *Twelve Years*[258] has been confiscated, and it is hardly likely that a copy can be found. However, I shall try and make some inquiries, and if I have any luck I shall send you one.

Nadezhda Konstantinovna sends her greetings.

Absender: Wl. Uljanow. 47. Lubomirskiego. Krakau.

With all respect,
Lenin

Sent from Cracow to Clarens
(Switzerland)

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

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THE INTERNATIONAL POLICY OF THE BOURGEOISIE

Government newspapers and liberal newspapers are full of news, rumours, speculations and calculations about "Balkan" policy. What a mess! Sensation follows upon sensation, each report is more spectacular than the last. Yesterday, it was said that war was about to break out between Austria and Montenegro, between Bulgaria and Serbia. Today there is a spate of denials of yesterday's news, and assurances that "peace has been secured".

Yesterday there were piquant stories about Essad pasha, his secret treaty with the King of Montenegro, and his insidious plans for seizing power in Albania. Today comes denial of these stories, and more piquant reports about agreements between Austria and Essad.

The man in the street, swallowing everything he is told, listens to these fables, taking them at their face value, and blindly following the swindlers who try to divert "public" attention with exactly the kind of thing that serves their interest. The man in the street does not suspect that he is being led by the nose, and that the ringing phrases about "patriotism", "the country's honour and prestige" and "the Concert of Great Powers" are a deliberate attempt to cover up the machinations of financial swindlers and all sorts of capitalist adventurers. The sensational reports cooked up daily by the big bourgeois newspapers, whose occupation it is to sell the "latest" and the "most exciting" news at a profit, are designed specifically to distract the attention of the crowd from the really important questions and the real background of "high" politics.

The conservative newspapers in Europe, the Black-

Hundred[259] and Octobrist, and also non-party, papers in our own country, are playing this game crudely and in primitive fashion. In Russia, for example, they carry daily incitements against Austria, and depict Russia as the "protector" of the Slavs. The liberal press, like *Rech* and similar other papers, is carrying on *the very same game*, only in more subtle fashion, concealing it more skilfully, making its "digs" at Austria with greater caution, assuming the air of statesmen discussing the issues confronting the Concert of Europe.

In reality, all this quarrelling between Austria and Russia, between the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente,[260] all these subtle approaches, are nothing but disputes between capitalist profiteers and capitalist governments over the division of the spoils. They are trying to drag the man in the street into the issue of how "we" can tear off a bigger slice, and how to let "them" have a smaller one; they are trying to get the man in the street to take an interest and show concern in the squabbling.

Nothing is being written or said about the number of skins to be taken off the backs of the peasant and the worker in Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece to cover the expenses of war, or in Austria to cover the expenses of mobilisation, or in Russia for the same purpose and for her imperialist policy; or whether, and how, democratic institutions are to be ensured in the "new" states of the Balkans, or in Armenia, or in Mongolia. That is not news. The profits of the international sharks do not depend on that. Democratic institutions even tend to hamper "steady" profit-making. Instead of *exposing* the policy of the Great Powers, the newspapers—both conservative and liberal—are engaged in discussing how *best* to help the sharks have their fill through this policy.

Written on April 26 (May 9), 1913

Published on May 4, 1913 in *Pravda* No. 101

Printed from the *Pravda* text

CAPITALISM AND FEMALE LABOUR

Present-day capitalist society conceals within itself numerous cases of poverty and oppression which do not immediately strike the eye. At the *best* of times, the scattered families of poor townspeople, artisans, workers, employees and petty officials live in incredible difficulties, barely managing to make both ends meet. Millions upon millions of women in such families live (or, rather, exist) as "domestic slaves", striving to feed and clothe their family on pennies, at the cost of desperate daily effort and "saving" on everything—except their own labour.

It is these women that the capitalists most willingly employ as home-workers, who are prepared for a monstrously low wage to "earn a little extra" for themselves and their family, for the sake of a crust of bread. It is from among these women, too, that the capitalists of all countries recruit for themselves (like the ancient slave-owners and the medieval feudal lords) any number of concubines at a most "reasonable" price. And no amount of "moral indignation" (hypocritical in 99 cases out of 100) about prostitution can do anything against this trade in female flesh; so long as wage-slavery exists, inevitably prostitution too will exist. All the oppressed and exploited classes throughout the history of human societies have always been forced (and it is in this that their exploitation consists) to give up to their oppressors, first, their unpaid labour and, second, their women as concubines for the "masters".

Slavery, feudalism and capitalism are identical in this respect. It is only the *form* of exploitation that changes; the exploitation itself remains.

An *exhibition* of the work of "women exploited at home" has opened in Paris, the "capital of the world", and the centre of civilisation.

Each exhibit has a little tag showing how much the woman working at home *receives* for making it, and how much she can make per day and per hour on this basis.

And what do we find? *Not on a single* article can a woman working at home earn more than 1.25 francs, i.e., 50 kopeks, whereas the earnings on the vast majority of jobs are very much smaller. Take lampshades. The pay is 4 kopeks per dozen. Or paper bags: 15 kopeks per thousand, with earnings at *six* kopeks an hour. Here are little toys with ribbons, etc.: 2.5 kopeks an hour. Artificial flowers: *two* or *three* kopeks an hour. Ladies' and gentlemen's underwear: from *two* to six kopeks an hour. And so on, without end.

Our workers' associations and trade unions, too, ought to organise an "exhibition" of this kind. It will not yield the colossal profits brought in by the exhibitions of the bourgeoisie. A display of proletarian women's poverty and indigence will bring a different benefit: it will help wage-slaves, both men and women, to understand their condition, look back over their "life", ponder the conditions for emancipation from this perpetual yoke of want, poverty, prostitution and every kind of outrage against the have-nots.

Written on April 27 (May 10), 1913

Published on May 5, 1913 in *Pravda* No. 102

Printed from the *Pravda* text

LANDOWNERS' CALL FOR "PACIFYING" THE COUNTRYSIDE

If the newspaper *Novoye Vremya* is quite deservedly "famed" for being one of the most dishonest newspapers, which adapts itself to profitable business interests, to the government, and to the ruling class of landowners, its correspondent Menshikov is doubly famed, and with even better reason.

Menshikov's articles frequently allow readers to make a sure guess as to which "circles" in official, capitalist, or aristocratic St. Petersburg had *ordered* this or that statement by him. Not very long ago, this Menshikov was ordered an article in defence of the "aristocratic" Council of State against the plans for its supposedly democratic reform. The article had clearly been ordered by high-ranking official landowner circles. All the more instructive is it then to hear what the landowners have to say about the notorious "pacification" of the countryside.

"I have fairly frequent calls from provincials visiting St. Petersburg, landowners and public men," says Menshikov. Whether the landowners call on him, or whether he calls at the front halls of distinguished landowners, is another matter. In any case he sings to the landowners' tune, and his article has value only in that it gives one an idea of what the landowners frankly say.

"If they are to be believed—and why shouldn't they be believed," the landowners' mouthpiece goes on, "the Pugachov movement[261] of 1905-06 has not at all ended. It has subsided, it has assumed other, less boisterous forms, but it continues its work of destruction. True, the peasants no longer march, as they used to do, in great crowds, with caravans of horse-drawn carts, to plunder and burn the country estates of the landowners. But arson continues all the

same without cease: now it's a house they set on fire, now a threshing shed, now a hayloft, now a barn, now a stack of corn or straw. The most outrageous, the most stupid illegal cattle-grazing continues.... During the seven years of our parliamentary era, no headway at all has been made in the fight against village anarchy."

Thus writes Menshikov in *Novoye Vremya*. The order evidently was to prepare "public opinion" for fresh measures of persecution and punishment of "hooligans", to use the expression current in the Black-Hundred and Octobrist camp. But, in carrying out his orders, the landowners' lackey blurts out the landowners' true state of mind and the true causes of their alarm.

Let us note and remember that the landowning gentry intend to have new punitive laws and regulations to fight the "*Pugachov movement*" of 1905-06, *which has not at all ended, but has assumed new forms*.

Only one thing is somewhat strange. In 1905 and 1906, the government and the Council of the United Nobility[262] assured themselves and others that the "Pugachov movement" was the result of communal landownership and the embryonic state of the institution of private property in land among the peasantry. Now all the agents of the government, all the government parties and newspapers are dinning into our ears that the village commune has collapsed and has been destroyed, and that the new system of land tenure and the establishment of private property in land among the peasantry have been a "tremendous" success. If that were so, the "Pugachov movement" allegedly caused by the village commune should surely have stopped! And if it "has not at all ended", as the landowners assure us through Menshikov, their mouthpiece, it follows that the village commune has nothing to do with it. Consequently, the famous successes of the "new system of land tenure" are a myth.

At any rate, the policy of which the landowners have been boasting is a patent flop.

Written on April 28 (May 11), 1913

Published on May 4, 1913 in *Pravda* No. 101 Signed: *M. P.*

Printed from the *Pravda* text

LESSONS OF THE BELGIAN STRIKE

The general strike of the Belgian workers has ended, as readers will know, in a half-victory.[263] *So far* the workers have secured only a *promise* by the clerical government to appoint a commission to examine the question, not only of the local but also of the national franchise. The other day, the Belgian Prime Minister promised in the Chamber of Deputies that the commission would be appointed in May.

Of course, a ministerial promise (like any other promise "from above") is something that can by no means be taken seriously. One could not even speak of a partial victory, if the general political situation did not bear witness to a certain breach made by the general strike in the old, die-hard, unyielding and stubborn clerical (i.e., reactionary and obscurantist) "order".

The achievement of the strike is not so much this fragment of a victory over the government as the success of the organisation, discipline, fighting spirit and enthusiasm for the struggle displayed by the mass of the Belgian working class. The working class of Belgium has proved that it is capable of steadfast struggle at the call of its Socialist Party. "We shall repeat the strike once again, if necessary!" This was said by a workers' leader during the strike and is an expression of the fact that the masses are aware of holding their weapons firmly in their hands, and of being ready to make use of them once again. The strike proved to the Belgian capitalists that it inflicts vast losses on them, and that concessions are essential, if Belgian capital is not to fall hopelessly behind German capital, etc.

In Belgium, stable constitutional practices have long since been established, and political liberty is an old achievement of the people. Given political liberty, the workers have a broad and open road before them.

Why, in that case, has the strike had such *little* success? There are two main reasons.

The first is the domination of opportunism and reformism in a section of the Belgian Socialists, especially those in parliament. Being accustomed to move in alliance with the Liberals, these members of parliament feel themselves dependent on the Liberals in all their activity. As a result, there was hesitation in calling the strike, and hesitation could not but limit the success, strength and scope of the whole proletarian struggle.

The first lesson of the Belgian strike is: look less to the Liberals, trust them less, and have more confidence in the independent and whole-hearted struggle of the proletariat.

The second cause of its partial failure is the weakness of the workers' organisations and the weakness of the *party* in Belgium. The Workers' Party in Belgium is an alliance of politically organised workers with politically unorganised workers, "pure and simple" co-operators, trade unionists, etc. This is a big drawback of Belgium's labour movement, which Mr. Yegorov in *Kievskaya Mysl* and the liquidators in *Luch* have done wrong to ignore.

The second lesson of the Belgian strike is: pay more attention to socialist propaganda, work more to build up a strong, highly principled and strictly party organisation which is true to socialism.

Written on May 2 (15), 1913

Published on May 8, 1913 in *Pravda* No. 104
Signed: *K. O.*

Printed from the *Pravda* text

THE BUILDING INDUSTRY AND BUILDING WORKERS

Russia's industrial boom over the last few years has been accompanied by the usual rapid development of the building industry. *Vestnik Finansov*[264] recently carried out a poll among the municipal authorities in 158 towns of Russia on this question. Mr. Veselovsky in *Russkoye Slovo* gives the following data from the poll: annual construction and remodelling of houses:

in 1907	11,961
" 1908	13,709
" 1909	15,093
" 1910	16,674

In some three years, the building industry has expanded nearly 50 per cent! That the capitalists are making vast profits on this industrial boom can be seen from the prices of bricks. The prices reach 33 rubles per thousand in St. Petersburg, and 36 rubles in the more industrialised Moscow.

Municipal brickworks exist in only 50 or 60 towns, so that the possibility of combating the insatiable appetites of the building capitalists is insignificant. And, for that matter, our towns, as a result of the property franchise, the complete absence of free elections, etc., have been completely handed over to a handful of money-bags, who take municipal interests to be those of their own pockets.

The series of notorious collapses of houses under construction shows the incredibly scandalous practices in building, the carelessness and the total disregard for human life. Intensified building activity, with thousands and thousands of rubles passing into the pockets of con-

tractors, engineers, capitalists, and the mass of sacrifices offered up by the workers on the altar of capital—that is what the industrial "boom" means.

And what of the position of the hundreds of thousands of building workers?

We learn the following about their wages from the poll. The day's wage of a building worker varies with the size of the town as follows:

Population	Day's wage of a building worker
Under 5,000	1 ruble 33 kopeks
5,000-10,000	1 " 36 "
10,000-25,000	1 " 41 "
25,000-50,000	1 " 53 "
50,000-75,000	1 " 56 "
75,000-100,000	1 " 87 "
100,000 and over	1 " 80 "

Even in the biggest cities, the worker's wage does not reach 2 rubles a day! One can imagine what these workers suffer with the present high cost of living, when very often they have to maintain a family in another town or in the country. Moreover, building work is seasonal, it does not continue the year round. During the few months of employment, the worker must earn enough to maintain himself and his family throughout the year.

These figures are evidence of the workers' poverty and utter insecurity.

It is more difficult for building workers to unite and get organised than for workers in factories. All the more insistently should workers in the van campaign for the education and organisation of building workers, who can seek help nowhere but from their own workers' paper, their own workers' trade union, and their own more developed proletarian comrades.

Written on May 4 (17), 1913

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AN ASSESSMENT OF THE FOURTH DUMA

What the Social-Democrats, representing the working class, think of the Fourth Duma is well known. Their assessment is based on the class character of the landowner and landowner-bourgeois Duma, and also on the character of the government which is trying to make some kind of deal with the ruling classes in this Duma.

But it is instructive also to look at how this Duma is assessed by the *Right itself*, and particularly by the *landowners*.

In this respect, it is interesting to read an interview carried by southern papers with Mr. Sinadino, mayor of Kishinev, and a landowner who was a Nationalist in the Third Duma, and in the Fourth is considered a member of the "Centre" party, that is, to the *right* of the Octobrists. There seems to be no point in looking around for a more reliable pillar of the Establishment! And here is his assessment:

> "The Fourth Duma is a mere fiction. The men on the Council of State have no consideration at all for the representatives of the people, and act, we should say, against their will. I repeat, the Duma is a mere fiction, and in such conditions can give the country nothing. I can find no expression in Russian to describe the activities of the Council of State. It is what the French call 'sabotage'...."

This offended landowner is telling such truths about the Duma and about our government that the workers ought to look at them closely. In general, as readers know, the democrats have a chance to hear a truthful opinion about the system and "order" of dominant reaction from the reactionary gentlemen only when these reactionaries fall out.

One landowner (or several landowners) feels offended—

and you get such a description of the landowners' "system" of state administration and state structure that you might think the description had been taken from a Social-Democratic leaflet!

Both the Fourth and the Third Duma, Mr. Offended Right-wing Landowner, are not fictions, because they provide the government, for example, with approval for its budget. But the point is that in spite of the whole landowning class and all the top bourgeoisie helping the government, it is not able to make any headway!

The possibility for an alliance between the government and the landowners and the bourgeoisie has been created. The Duma is doing *all* it can to bring about *such* an alliance. And yet nothing even remotely resembling a constitution has been produced. The old state system is still there. The Ministers likewise are people who "tremble" (to use Sinadino's words) "for their own future", evidently not knowing what will happen to them tomorrow, what their orders will be tomorrow.

All the "activity" of the Duma with the Council of State, all the liberal wailing about the hopelessness of reforms, even the most modest, the most Octobrist, the most insignificant—and, finally, the frank admissions of the offended landowner-"legislator"—all show that constitutional illusions and reformist aspirations in present-day Russia are quite groundless.

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THE HIGH COST OF LIVING AND THE "HARD" LIFE OF THE CAPITALISTS

The cost of living is rising higher and higher. Associations of capitalists are steadily raising prices, raking in millions and tens of millions, while the mass of the peasantry fall into greater and greater ruin and workers' families find it ever more difficult to make both ends meet, and have to go hungry and deny themselves the barest necessities.

The organ of our industrial millionaires, *Promyshlennost i Torgovlya*,[265] gives the following data about the rising cost of living. The so-called *price index*, which is obtained by combining the prices of a specified number of major foodstuffs, has been rising steadily over the past few years. Here are the figures for *April*:

Year	Price Index
1908	2,195
1909	2,197
1910	2,416
1911	2,554
1912	2,693
1913	2,729

In the last six years, prices have risen from 2,195 to 2,729, i.e., by fully 24 per cent! There is remarkable "progress" in the fleecing of the mass of the working people, and particularly of the workers, by the capitalist combines.

But the capitalists—both in the journal quoted and in their innumerable societies and associations, graciously authorised by the government—continue to complain of the "*unfair*" taxation of trade and industry!

This would be funny, only the workers are not inclined to laugh.

The poor and unfortunate industrial millionaires publish the following data given in a ministerial document on the taxation of *urban real estate*.

In 1910, the income from such property was assessed at 239 million rubles (of course, it was assessed bureaucratically, by officials, and one can imagine how many tens of millions were concealed by the oh-so-poor merchant class). In 1912, i.e., only two years later, the income on urban real estate was assessed at 500 million rubles (counting only Russia, without the Kingdom of Poland).

And so, *in two years*, the net income on urban real estate rose by more than 250 million rubles! This gives an idea of the stream of gold pouring into the pockets of the capitalists, coming in millions of trickles from incredible want, poverty and hunger among the peasants and workers.

"The high cost of living today" is nothing but the present-day (capitalist) form of impoverishment, ruin and plunder of the working people alongside the unprecedented enrichment of a handful of capitalists.

Pity the poor capitalists who complain of patently "unfair" taxation. Just think: they have to give up 6 per cent of their *net* income. In 1910, they had to give up (in Russia without Poland) 14 million rubles, and in 1912, 29.8 million rubles.

And so in two years the increase in tax on the robbed millionaires amounted to nearly 16 million rubles.

What do you think, worker comrades: when *net* income goes up from 240 to 500 millions, i.e., *by 260 million rubles in two years*, should not a tax of a hundred or two hundred million rubles have been collected? Should they not have taken from the *additional* profit of 260 million rubles, made on the workers and poor peasants, two hundred millions, at a modest valuation, for schools and hospitals, to aid the hungry and provide for workers' insurance?

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THE GERMAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS AND ARMAMENTS

The Budget Commission of the German Reichstag has passed the first reading of the Arms Bill. There is no doubt that its adoption is assured. The government of the Junkers—those brothers of our Purishkevich and Markov—is "working" hand in hand with the German bourgeoisie on new methods of oppressing the people, while increasing the profits of the capitalist manufacturers of the weapons of destruction. The manufacturers of war supplies and equipment are doing good business. The young hopefuls of the Prussian nobility are anticipating the pleasure of getting "additional" appointments as officers. All the ruling classes are satisfied—and what are modern parliaments but instruments for doing the will of the ruling classes.

In order to justify the new armaments, there are the usual efforts to paint a picture of the perils threatening the "fatherland". To scare the German philistine, the German Chancellor has raised, among other things, the bogey of the *Slav peril*. The Balkan victories, you see, have strengthened "Slavdom", which is hostile to the whole "German world"! Pan-Slavism, the idea of uniting all the Slavs against the Germans there lies the peril, the Junkers' Chancellor assures them.

The German Social-Democrats have exposed, and continue steadfastly to expose in their press, their parliamentary speeches and at meetings, these hypocritical, chauvinist outbursts. There is a state, the Social-Democrats have said, the majority of whose population is Slav and which has long enjoyed political liberty and constitutional order. It is Austria. It is quite absurd to fear military designs on the part of that state.

Pinned down by the Social-Democrats, the German Chancellor referred to the noisy Pan-Slavist manifestations in St. Petersburg. That's a wonderful argument! The manufacturers of guns, armour, gunpowder and other "cultural" requirements wish to enrich themselves both in Germany and in Russia, and in order to fool the public each refers to the other. Russian chauvinists are being used to scare the Germans, and German chauvinists, the Russians! Both play a miserable role in the hands of the capitalists, who know perfectly well that the very idea of a war by Russia against Germany is ridiculous.

We repeat that the German chauvinists are assured of a majority vote in the Reichstag. But among the German workers there is growing indignation and demand for more than purely parliamentary means of struggle against the shameless plundering of the people's money by the chauvinists. It is interesting to note that a general meeting of the Social-Democrats of the 1st Württemberg constituency (Stuttgart) adopted the following resolution:

"This general meeting expresses its regret at the fact that the struggle against the Arms Bill in parliament is not being waged with sufficient vigour. The meeting considers that the furious drive into the people's pocket by the arms manufacturers should be resisted by all possible means. This meeting, therefore, expects the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag to take up the struggle when the Bill comes out of committee for discussion by the Reichstag as a whole, in the most energetic fashion, without hesitating to adopt even obstructionist tactics. The meeting considers insufficient the extraparliamentary struggle the Party has carried on until now. This meeting demands that the Party executive should begin organising action to involve the whole working population, including mass strikes."

There is slow but steady growth of awareness among German Social-Democrats that more resolute, active, mass struggle by the workers is necessary. If the opportunists, of whom there are many in the parliamentary group and among the officials of the labour movement, are opposed to such a struggle, the masses of workers accept it with greater and greater sympathy.

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ORGANISATION OF THE MASSES BY THE GERMAN CATHOLICS

In backward states, where the mass of the people have no rights, where there is no political liberty, where the authorities have arbitrary powers, political organisations on any broad scale are non-existent. Only tiny groups of landowners or millionaire industrialists enjoy "the right of association"; but they turn all their attention to high quarters, to "the spheres", to the authorities, and not only shun but dread any massive organisation of the people.

In states with assured constitutional foundations and the people's right to take part in government, it is not only the socialists who strive to organise the masses (their only strength lies in educating and organising the masses), but also the *reactionary parties*. If the state system has been made democratic, the capitalists *must* seek support among the masses, and for this the latter must be organised around the watchwords of clericalism (Black-Hundredism and religion), of nationalism and chauvinism, etc.

Political liberty does not eliminate the class struggle but, on the contrary, makes it broader and more conscious, drawing into it the most backward sections of the people, and teaching them politics and defence of their views and interests.

It is instructive to see how, for example, the German reactionary party of the "Centre", i.e., the Catholics, organises masses of the people. They strive to get the masses to defend capitalism around the watchwords of religion and "patriotism". And the Catholics in Germany have succeeded in playing up the people's prejudices and igno-

rance, partly owing to the fact that the Catholics in Germany are a minority of the population, which at one time was subjected to persecution by the state. And the masses of toilers and exploited always instinctively tend to sympathise with those who are persecuted. The Catholic reactionaries have made skilful use of this sentiment.

The Catholics have created a mass organisation, the so-called People's Union for Catholic Germany. The Union has three-quarters of a *million members*. The organisation is strictly centralised. Its aim is to safeguard the "christian" (in practice, *capitalist*) system, and fight "destructive" (i.e., socialist) tendencies.

The Union is headed by a 24-man board. Of them, 9 handle the board's business correspondence, and the rest are representatives of different regions, large cities, etc. There is one "agent" for every 20-40 Catholic families. All the agents act on instructions from the board.

The Catholics, when attacking the Social-Democrats, usually accuse the Social-Democratic agitators of living on the workers' coppers. But in *their own* organisation the Catholics themselves act in precisely the same way: in every place of any importance they have *paid agitators*.

Work at the party executive is organised on strictly factory lines. Twenty special officials are in charge of "literature": one handles theology, another, the agrarian question, a third, the Social-Democratic movement, a fourth, the artisans, etc. They make cuttings and extracts from newspapers and journals, and keep a card index. They have a staff of stenographers. A special library has 40,000 volumes. They draw up letters to the press—"reports"—which are published by dozens of Catholic papers. Special branches of this correspondence deal with "social and political questions" and "apologetics" (i.e., defence of religion and Christianity). Series of booklets are published on all questions. As many as 5,000 sets of speakers' notes on various subjects are sent out every year. A special department deals with propaganda by films. An information bureau answers queries of every kind free of charge: in 1912 it answered over 18,000,000.

Catholic students are regularly recruited for propaganda and agitation, particularly during vacations. The

agents (of whom there are several *tens of thousands*) attend special "social courses". There are special two-month courses at the party executive for "training" to fight the Social-Democrats. There are special fortnightly courses for peasants, teachers, shop assistants, etc.

The reactionary German Catholics are rather well organised. But all their work is a feeble imitation of the work of the German Social-Democrats.

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HOLIDAYS FOR WORKERS

The metalworkers in Germany, as in other countries, are in the van of class-conscious and organised proletarians. They have raised the question, among other things, of regular *annual holidays* for workers.

The manufacturers resist this measure with all their strength, pleading the "heavy burden" of the cost involved. But the German metalworkers, in a special pamphlet published by their union, have given exact figures to refute these selfish and hypocritical evasions. The workers have proved that between 1905 and 1910 the net profit in 93 joint-stock companies in the German metallurgical industry averaged 13.4 per cent!

It would be sufficient to reduce this profit by no more than 2 per cent to give all workers regular holidays.

But at the present time the system of holidays is still quite inadequately developed, and for the most part is being applied by the capitalists to further indenture the workers. The German metalworkers have taken two polls on the question of holidays, in 1908 and 1912.

In 1908, workers had holidays at 138 factories. Of the 75,591 workers engaged in these factories, 13,579, i.e., 17.9 per cent, had holidays.

In 1912, workers had holidays at 389 factories. Of the 233,927 workers employed there, 34,257, i.e., 14 per cent, had holidays.

In all, only *three* factories in a thousand in the metallurgical industry had a system of holidays! Of the total number of metalworkers only 1.8 per cent, i.e., less than *one-fiftieth*, had holidays.

Most factories allowing holidays—namely, more than nine-tenths of them—grant holidays only to workers who have been employed a fairly long time at the works. Of the 389 factories (with 233,927 workers), 84 factories employing 140,209 workers require a length of service from *five to ten* years (!) before a worker gets the right to a holiday.

Such holidays are obviously a ridiculously small improvement for the workers, and are *mainly* a bait to keep the workers in the factory and a means of combating strikes!

In most cases (for 72 per cent of the workers in the factories mentioned) the length of the holiday does not exceed *one week*. For 10 per cent, the period is *less than a week*, and only for 16 per cent is it *more than a week* (up to two weeks).

In most factories allowing holidays (97 per cent), workers going on holiday are paid their previous wages, or an average weekly wage.

We find, therefore, that even in the leading industry of an advanced country the system of holidays for workers is disgracefully inadequate. But the workers are coming to realise the need for regular and adequate rest and by their insistence the organised workers will be able to achieve success in this sphere too.

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THE MEANING OF AN "HISTORIC" FORMULA

The press is still exercised over the adoption of the so-called lack-of-confidence-in-the-government formula by the Fourth Duma (on the Ministry of the Interior estimates), by the votes of the Octobrists and the Cadets. Indeed, the formula, like the comments on it in the liberal press, deserves serious consideration. This has really raised questions of principle: it is essential to return to them again and again.

The leader-writer in *Rech* solemnly declared (No. 137) that May 21, the day this formula was adopted, "will go down as a date of historic significance". Our liberals are past masters at uttering loud and ringing phrases of this kind; but the very first attempt at a serious analysis of the *meaning* of the Duma's decision betrays their astounding shallowness and helplessness.

The liberals ignore the most fundamental and indubitable *facts* which reveal the meaning of the Duma formula.

Firstly, of the parties which adopted the formula, neither the Octobrists *nor the Progressists*[266] (with whom the Cadets are *in practice* indissolubly tied up!) proposed rejection of the estimates. The rejection of the estimates on the part of the Cadets was only a theatrical gesture to catch the democrats, since all knew perfectly well that the Cadets would *in practice* support the Octobrists.

The "historic" formula is a phrase, since the *majority* of the bourgeois parties did not even venture to use their unquestionable "parliamentary" right to reject the budget. And without the support of both the Octobrists and the Progressists the Cadets are *nil* in the Duma and in the country.

Secondly, what does the ideological and political *content* of the formula amount to? "We insist on the earliest

implementation of *extensive reforms*," says the formula adopted by the Octobrists. That is what the Progressists also said. The same was demanded, in even stronger terms—"*radical reforms*"!—by the "Centre" (i.e., the semi-Octobrists and semi-nationalists). The same reformist attitude is fully adopted by the Cadet formula: their wording is somewhat sharper, but the ideas are exclusively reformist.

Thirdly, all the formulas, from that of the Cadets to that of the Octobrists, give a clear expression of the *reactionary* standpoint.

In this respect, contrary to the lying assurances of *Rech*, the Octobrist formula is not to the right but to the left of the Progressist, and even of the Cadet, formulas. See and judge for yourselves:

(1) The Progressists: (the Ministry) "is sowing in the country the seeds of trouble threatening the security of the state";
(2) The Cadets: "such a situation is a serious threat to state and *public* security";
(3) The Octobrists: "the Ministry is destroying respect for the law and the authorities among the people, thereby strengthening the mood of opposition."

Translated from the language of "official policy" into ordinary human terms, this means one thing: the Cadets, the Octobrists and the Progressists all *promise* to provide better protection for the *landowners*, not as individuals but as a class, of course, than the present system does.

Fourthly, all these three parties start from nationalism and chauvinism. The Ministry, they allege, "weakens the power of Russia" (say the Octobrists and the Progressists) or "the external might of the state" (say the Cadets, even more clearly!).

Such are the facts hushed up and distorted by the liberals. The "historic" formula of the Fourth Duma is a *compact* between the Cadets and the Octobrists, with the help of the Progressists, on censuring the government and expressing the wish for "radical reforms", *provided* the budget is voted and the standpoint of reactionary nationalism and chauvinism is clearly expressed.

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FROM WHOM DOES SUPPORT COME?

Our liberal press has taken the notorious Fourth Duma formula on the Ministry of the Interior estimates to mean that "the government is acting in something of a vacuum.... The government has no friends in the country with the exception of the subsidised newspapers, and the handfuls of politicians who are also subsidised and are loyal only so long as the subsidy lasts."

That is the opinion of the "serious", professorial *Russkiye Vedomosti*, and that's no joke!

"The government is completely isolated, and finds no support even in the political groups it set up itself." That is the opinion of *Rech*.

It would probably be hard to match the puerility displayed in these observations by the professors, lawyers, writers and deputies of the liberal camp. Theirs is a truly incurable parliamentary cretinism, in a country where "there is, thank God, no parliament"![267]

In a vacuum, you say?

But haven't you heard, Messrs. professors and deputies, of the Council of the United Nobility, and of *its* support of the government's policy; of the hundred million or so of dessiatines of the best land in the best parts of Russia belonging to the landowning class; of all the key civil and military posts held by the same class; of the sugar and other finance barons among the same class?

You haven't heard of all that? Oh, ye wise statesmen of liberalism!

The government, you say, is completely isolated, it has no friends in the country?

But what are you there for, gentlemen? Wasn't it you, together with the Progressists and the Octobrists, who voted the estimates of the Ministry of the Interior?

Imagine the existence of millionaire acquaintances who easily give you as much money as you want, while expressing "wishes" which are not binding on anybody. Don't you think, gentlemen, that we should be entitled to call these millionaires our friends, and that we should not feel ourselves "isolated" (among the millionaires)?

But by your formula you have extended to the government not only material but also great *ideological* support. This is very important, and you must not think that we shall allow you to dodge this ticklish question before the public.

What was the argument about in the Duma? To vote the funds, but to express a wish for—the reform of the police and for "normal limits of the legal system", said the nationalists. To vote the funds, but to express a desire for radical or broad reforms, said the Octobrists, *adding* that their unequivocal stand is *counter-revolutionary* nationalism and chauvinism.

And now all the liberals perform this trick: they keep silent about the addition, but express delight over the demand for "radical reforms"! All that is lacking is an addendum to their list, on the suggestion of some clever liquidator, on "freedom of association and review of agrarian legislation"....

The feudal landowners are backing the old system. The bourgeoisie is in favour of reform. By its "formula" it inflicted a moral blow on the government. But *at the same time* that bourgeoisie gave moral *support* to the government by emphasising its counter-revolutionary attitude! And *such* support is a hundred times more effective and weighty than dozens of "moral" blows.

The "historic" Duma formula provides fresh confirmation that the June Third system[268] has entered a blind alley. And the bourgeoisie, maintaining the position described, cannot get out of that blind alley. The experience of history teaches us that the bourgeoisie may daydream about reforms, stagnate in a blind alley and bear the yoke of the Purishkeviches for decades, unless the crisis is resolved the way the liberals dread and hope to exorcise.

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FROM FRANCE

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

This paper has already reported the remarkable act of spinelessness on the part of Gustave Hervé. This smart journalist and agitator, a man without socialist training or socialist education, went over (from the ranks of the professors) to the workers' party, with all the habits and practices of a bourgeois intellectual. He began as an opportunist. Then he swung over to the "extreme Left", and for a long time preached semi-anarchist ideas, "terrifying" the bourgeoisie with noisy outcries in an anti-militarist spirit.

Lately he has tended to turn away from the anarchists and to make his way back to the party, and towards recognition of the parliamentary struggle and of educational and organisational work. But there again, this intellectual smarty wobbled, and swung back to the opportunists. Being an impressionist, too much swayed by the last impression and prone to spineless vacillation, he has been so "scared" by the present reactionary wave of chauvinism, nationalism and imperialism in France that he has begun preaching a return to the "bloc" policy, i.e., an alliance with the bourgeois Radicals. In order to save the Republic in France it is essential, he asserts, to have a bloc with the Radicals; otherwise the reactionaries in France will once again restore the monarchy or the Empire!

It is hardly necessary to say that, apart from extreme opportunists, the French Socialists ridicule the spineless Hervé, and energetically protest against the bloc. Recently one of the organs of the workers' party published in the

South of France carried a number of statements by leading Socialists *against the bloc*.

It is the Socialists who began and are carrying on the campaign against reaction, these leading workers rightly say; it is the Socialists who campaigned among the masses with their protest against the law for a return to three years' military service (i.e., a return to the reactionary, barrack-room and absolutely undemocratic army). It is the Socialists who are working for a *proletarian bloc*, i.e., the alliance of socialist workers and syndicalist workers. Among the Radicals and "Radical-Socialists" (a petty-bourgeois party resembling our Narodniks) only a tiny section supports this truly democratic campaign of the Socialists, and then with many waverings.

Why then have a bloc? Alliance with those who waver will weaken the pressure of the masses and increase the vacillation! Meanwhile, the Socialists have never refused to support the Radicals *to the extent* that they oppose the reactionaries.

Here, for example, are Messrs. Charles Dumont and Alfred Masse, true-blue "Radical-Socialists", writes one Socialist, who *are backing* the three-year service law in the expectation of securing a ministerial post. Here is Clemenceau "himself", the leader of the Radicals, carrying on a campaign *for* this law. Here is another prominent leader of the Radicals, Léon Bourgeois, who has also declared in favour of the law. Lastly, in the Military Commission of the Chamber of Deputies, the law was adopted by 17 votes to 4, the latter *exclusively* socialist.

How can there be a bloc, then, with this shameless bourgeois party of Radicals and "Radical-Socialists"? Only by agitating *against* it among the masses can the French Socialists *detach* all democratic elements from that party, thereby *obliging* some part of it to go left, towards democracy. Being completely dependent on the masses at the elections (since France, of course, has universal suffrage and parliamentary government), many Radicals will think again and again before finally voting *for* a reactionary law well known to be unpopular among the masses.

The only serious support for democracy and the Republic in France (as everywhere else) is the masses, the masses

of workers and with them also the small peasants, and not the parliamentary politicians, buffoons, careerists and adventurers of the bourgeois parties, who declare themselves "Radical-Socialists" one day, only to sell out democracy and country the next day (for the sake of some ministerial job or profitable deal, in the form of some concession or post in a millionaire syndicate, etc.)—(as the French bourgeois sold France to Bismarck in 1871, out of fear of the Paris workers' uprising against wage-slavery).

The French Socialists, who are fighting the idea of a bloc and are extending their socialist work and agitation among the masses, deserve the warmest greetings.

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DEPUTY FRANK FAVOURS THE MASS STRIKE

The speech of the well-known Baden Social-Democrat Frank, a most prominent representative of the opportunist wing, in favour of the mass strike as a means of struggle for electoral reform in Prussia, is something of an event in the German Socialist Party.

The Social-Democratic Party organisation in Wilmersdorf, a suburb of Berlin, invited Frank to give a lecture on the subject. The bourgeois press, expecting peaceable and tranquillising words to come "out of Baden", loudly advertised the meeting. The free publicity was magnificent. The meeting turned out to be a huge and most impressive one.

But whether because he was addressing the militant Berlin workers or because as a southerner, accustomed to the freer atmosphere of Southern Germany, he was outraged at the shameless domination of the "Junkers" (the German Black-Hundred gentry) whom he saw at closer quarters in Berlin, Frank made a fiery speech in favour of the mass strike.

The speaker began by outlining internal politics in Prussia. Frank castigated the domination of the Junkers, the reactionary electoral law for the Prussian Landtag (a law rather like our own Third Duma law) and the absence of elementary democratic guarantees. When he noted that under the Prussian electoral law the keeper of a brothel had first-class electoral rights, and the Prime Minister, only third-class rights, and that this was characteristic of the Prussian "way of life", the audience roared with laughter in approval of his assessment.

The Berlin workers—Frank said with a smile—have proved by their struggle against Jagow (the, mayor who

vainly tried to prohibit demonstrations in 1910) that they have talents in the sphere of street manoeuvres.

The speaker recalled the examples of mass strikes in history: by the Chartists in England; the Belgians in 1893, 1902 and 1912; the Swedes in 1903; the Italians in 1904, and the Russians in 1905; he dwelt in greater detail on the last example, stressing the help which the Russian workers then gave their neighbours and brothers, the Austrian workers. The mere threat of a political strike *then* proved sufficient to win adult suffrage for the Austrians.

In Prussia and in Germany, exclaimed Frank, we have the best labour movement in the world and the most extensive working-class press. Let us then learn mass struggle from the proletariat of the whole world! (Enthusiastic approval and applause of the audience.)

Naturally, this new form of struggle involves sacrifice and danger, Frank continued; but when have political battles not entailed danger and sacrifice? Once we have realised the necessity of struggle, we must carry it on to the end, we must pilot our ship forward despite the possible reefs ahead. Those who fear them and remain in port will certainly be safe, but they will never get to the other shore—the objective for which we are striving.

Enthusiastically received by the meeting, Frank's speech showed once again the great indignation the reactionaries have aroused in the German workers. A mighty protest is maturing in the German proletariat slowly but surely.

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Signed: *Karich*

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AN INTERESTING CONGRESS

An interesting congress opened at Kharkov yesterday, June 12. It is interesting in two respects. For one thing, it is the first general Zemstvo congress on the statistics of public education. And then it has been honoured by particular attention on the part of the authorities. The chairman of the congress has been *appointed* by the authorities, and the specialists have been "screened", as B. Veselovsky puts it in *Russkoye Slovo*, also by the authorities. No representatives of the press have been allowed to attend the congress.

These measures—which even from the "Russian" point of view seem to be unduly, let us say, prudent—can hardly be explained by the fact that the congress meets in one of the Ukrainian centres. This Zemstvo congress will be attended not only by Ukrainian statisticians and Zemstvo officials,[269] but also by men in this field who come from all the nationalities of Russia.

The subject of the congress is apparently not to the liking of the authorities, although the only item on the agenda will be the organisation of statistics, what has been done, why too little has been done, while more should be done, and better.

Public education lags more in Russia than anywhere else in the world. Duma deputy Badayev pointed out in his speech that even among the American Negroes there are only 44 per cent illiterates—in Europe it is 1 or 2 per cent—whereas in Russia 79 per cent are illiterate!

However, despite a thousand obstacles, public education has lately been growing and developing faster than before. To know the truth about the state of education is the direct

and most vital interest of the masses of the people in general, and the workers in particular.

It would not be at all difficult to organise the public education statistics on European lines. Every teacher could easily report every year the required information about every pupil (age, nationality, family conditions, economic condition of parents, etc.) and about every teacher (education, salary, working day, nationality and so forth). A small number of statisticians, annually processing such data, could provide the state with most abundant and valuable material, both on the conditions in which the young generation is being brought up and educated, and on a number of aspects of popular life, ... if ... if .... But representatives of the press have not been admitted to the Kharkov congress, its chairman has been appointed, its specialists, as B . Veselovsky tells us in *Russkoye Slovo*, have been screened by the authorities.

I'm afraid we've been a trifle silly with this talk of European-style statistics of education. Europe is something we can only dream of! We would do well to keep silent.

Written on June 8 (21), 1913

Published on June 13, 1913 in *Pravda* No. 134 Signed: *N.*

Printed from the *Pravda* text

TO V. M. KASPAROV

Dear Comrade,

I have received and read your article. I think the subject was well chosen and has been correctly elaborated, but the article will need some polishing up. There is far too much—how shall I put it?—"agitation", which is out of place in an article on a *theoretical* subject. Either you yourself, I think, ought to work it over, or we could do it.

Many thanks for your news of Kostrov. Please ask Avel to write and inform us more frequently. This is important, because we know *nothing*.

Could you obtain and translate Kostrov's Georgian articles (a) against the liquidators, (b) on the national question, *for* cultural-national autonomy, (c) *the most important*, against Plekhanov's preface to Arkomed,[270] against Plekhanov's defence of hegemony?

I am going away to Berne for a few weeks. On my return, I hope, we shall discuss things again in our letters.

Best wishes,

Yours,

Lenin

P.S. Thanks for the issue of *Pravda*.[271]

Written between June 18 and 22, 1913
Sent from Poronin to Berlin

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

TO G. I. SAFAROV

Dear Georgi,

I don't know anything about the conference.[272] *Decide for yourselves.*

N. K.'s treatment is dragging out, and I shall be staying here *another fortnight*, or maybe longer. I don't know exactly.

The Ukrainian's article is very good.[273] The main thing is that he is a centralist. This is so rare and so valuable in our rotten times that you and Yuri[274] must *without fail* get to know him *closer*, get to know the man.

The article requires not so much corrections of style (that's nothing) as *explanations by the author*. He must write one more article. I am writing about this on the next page*; you and Yuri read it, *and decide for yourselves* whether to let the Ukrainian read it, or whether it is better for you to tell him what it says.

Beste Grüsse,**

N. Lenin

Written on July 20, 1913
Sent from Berne to Zurich

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

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* See p. 262 of this volume.—*Ed*

** Best greetings.—*Ed.*

TO O. N. LOLA

Dear Comrade,

I very much enjoyed your article, as the article of a *centralist* fighting the Dontsovs and Co. It is extremely important to fight nationalists of *this* brand (and the Ukrainian Social-Democrats), who are more subtle!

I will insist that the editorial board of *Pravda* insert your article. But in my view the readers—40,000 Russian (and for the most part Great-Russian) workers—will not understand it.

My advice, if you don't mind my giving it, is that you should write one *more* article, which is to go in *first*. An introduction, a *brief* general sketch of the question of "centralism" and "separatism" (you have chosen the terms *very well* and correctly) among Social-Democrats of the Ukraine. Give the reader an introduction to the question. Describe the general trends, what they are and what their history is (briefly).

Then there is one more question: Basok, it is said, has turned towards nationalism and separatism. That's what I have heard; is it true? Could you get me his "famous" article (1910 or 1911 or 1912) with the turn in question?[275]

Then recently, they say, someone or other "united" at a conference in Lvov: the Spilka[276] group with the Ukrainian Social-Democrats, or with the Dontsovs? I was promised the joint resolutions from Lvov, but haven't had them yet. What do you know about this?[277] Should not a couple of lines be added to say that even among the Spilka group there are some who are, unfortunately, sliding down to nationalism and separatism?

Greetings and best wishes,

N. Lenin

Written on July 20, 1913
Sent from Berne to Zurich

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

TO J. S. HANECKI

Dear Comrade,

If you happen to be in Jena, be sure to make the acquaintance of our representative (send him a letter *postlagernd* Herrn Bekzadian, *Jena*—if you do not manage to meet him otherwise).[278] Have a talk with him about all our affairs. He should be given the facts against Tyszka.[279]

Greetings,
Yours,
Lenin

Acquaint him with Pannekoek, Mehring and others of the Left, if he does not get to know them himself. Drop me a line whether you are going to Jena (when you have quite decided on this).

Absender: Ulianow. Poronin.

Written on September 12, 1913
Sent from Poronin to Cracow

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

TO V. L. LEDER[280]

October 28, 1913

Cracow, Ul. Lubomirskiego. 51

Dear Comrade,

I quite understand your indignation against the scoundrels in the so-called Chief Executive, but would advise the commission[281] first of all, nevertheless, to secure a *formal* refusal from the Chief Executive. You can after all secure this (the address of Rosa Luxemburg, as a member of the International Socialist Bureau, etc.), for without it the I.S.B. will probably not interfere, and *inclusion* of the question will be rejected on formal grounds. You should not *improve* the position of Tyszka and Co. by any step on your part which may call forth an I.S.B. *refusal* of your request.

I advise you to write a careful information letter *on behalf of the commission* to Huysmans (*mainly* pressing the point that the Zarzad Glówny* refuses to have its "judgement" reviewed by a panel of I.S.B. affiliated parties active in Russia) asking him to help you to bring moral pressure to bear on the Chief Executive. This would be better than a premature formal appeal, entailing the risk of failure.

I hope you will inform me, if Plekhanov replies to you.

With Social-Democratic greetings,

N. Lenin

Ulianow. Ul. Lubomirskiego. 51. Kraków.

Sent to Paris

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Printed from the original

* Chief Executive.—*Ed.*

TO MAXIM GORKY

Dear Alexei Maximych,

I am sending you today by registered book-post the beginning of a novel which is to go into *Prosveshcheniye*. We think that you will not object. But if, by any chance, you should, *cable* to *Prosveshcheniye*: "Postpone Voitinsky" or *"Don't carry* Voitinsky's novel".[282]

The news that you are being given a *new* kind of treatment by "a Bolshevik", even if a former one, has really worried me. The saints preserve us from comrade-doctors in general, and Bolshevik-doctors in particular! Really and truly, in 99 cases out of 100 the comrade-doctors are "asses", as a *good* doctor once said to me. I assure you that you should consult (except on minor complaints) *only* first-class men. It is terrible to try out on yourself the inventions of a Bolshevik! The only reassuring thing is the supervision of professors in Naples, if these professors really know their business.... You know, if you do go in winter, *in any case* call on some first-class doctors in *Switzerland* and in *Vienna*—there will be no excuse for not doing so! How do you feel now?

Yours,
N. Lenin

P.S. Over here things are not at all bad; in St. Petersburg, the workers are organising on *party* lines in *all* the legal societies, including the sick benefit societies. There were some interesting and practical lads here, too.

My address: Wl. Ulianow. Ulica Lubomirskiego. 51. *Kraków. Krakau* (*Galizien*).

Written at the beginning of November 1913
Sent from Cracow to Capri

First published in 1924 in *Lenin Miscellany I*

Printed from the original

TO MAXIM GORKY

Dear A. M.,

I have received the novel[283] and your letter. My opinion is that the novel should be shelved, since you are *not in favour*. I enclose a letter from Kamenev, who read the novel (I have not read it yet).

We shall write to St. Petersburg to have them hold it up.

I enclose my letter of yesterday[284]: don't be angry that I lost my temper. Perhaps I did not understand you *aright*? Perhaps it was *as a joke* that you wrote "for a time"? Perhaps you weren't serious about God-building, either?

I entreat you to get the best possible treatment.

Yours,
Lenin

Written at the middle of November 1913
Sent from Cracow to Capri

First published in 1924 in *Lenin Miscellany I*

Printed from the original

TO N. I. BUKHARIN

Dear Comrade,

We were very willingly preparing to publish your article on Struve's book.[285] But in a second reading we realised that the passage about the serf economy would inevitably be understood in Party circles as advice to delete the *confiscation* of landed estates in the Programme. This needs discussing. Why not throw out the passage for the time being? We thought you *did not want* to start a discussion *just at present*.

If we are wrong, and you *did want* to start a discussion, drop us a line: if you insist, we shall carry the article....*

Written in December 1913
Sent from Cracow to Vienna

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

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* Here the MS. breaks off.—*Ed*.

1914

TO THE EDITORS OF *PUT PRAVDY*

February 9, 1914

Dear Colleagues,

I have received a letter from the secretary about the unfortunate article which has put the newspaper in peril.[286] It's a great pity that publicity was given (was it a board decision?) to this unfortunate article in which they contrived to find evidence of ties between the papers....

Having only just come home after a journey "on matters of business",[287] I looked through all the published issues and have *failed to find two* articles which I sent (about a month ago!) in reply to F. D. on the subject of unity ("The Liquidators' Leader on the Liquidators' Terms of Unity" is the title of the first of these articles).[288] The articles are absolutely essential, especially in view of the new journal *Borba*,[289] and it is necessary to publish them *before* it comes out. Yet the articles have not been published, and (as though making a mockery of any collective work) you haven't written me a single line for a whole month about their fate! ((If they are too long, which however is improbable, I would have sent them to *Prosveshcheniye*.))

Really, I quite fail to understand this way of doing business! How can you treat contributors—and colleagues—in this manner?

Please, reply!

With greetings,

V. I.

P.S. Please send me
Proletarskaya Pravda No. 11 (29)
Put Pravdy No. 2[290]
Novaya Rabochaya Gazeta No. 8 (126).

P.S. Do you happen to have a file of the journal *Mysl*,[291] or any separate issues? Please, send them over.

Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg

First published in 1956 in the journal *Kommunist* No. 5

Printed from the original

TO A. A. TROYANOVSKY

Dear Alexander Antonovich,

Many thanks for your news from Vienna: it's very interesting. Trotsky's venture is of great importance[292]; the break-up of the *August bloc*[293] is complete (the Letts have *withdrawn* from the Organising Committee!).[294]

Grigory says that you have continued

(1) the statistics of collections (by workers' groups) after October 1, 1913 (up to January 1, 1914)[295]

(2) the statistics of voting for the *Seven* and for the *Six* (also at least up to January 1, 1914, or February 1, 1914).[296]

Please complete this work as soon as you can, and send it over immediately: *it will go into the pamphlet* we are sending out shortly.[297]

Hurry!

I have received No. 1 of *Prosveshcheniye*. Not bad. There was no point only in having the review of Levitsky with the silly word "factionalism".[298]

And what is your opinion of the issue?

Greetings to Yelena Fyodorovna.

Also to Bukharin.

Yours,
Lenin

Written not earlier than February 11, 1914
Sent from Cracow to Vienna

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

TO ISAAC A. HOURWICH

Cracow, February 27, 1914

Dear Colleague,

I have long since received your book, *Immigration and Labour*,[299] and have been looking for your address to send you my thanks. But it proved far from easy to find your address. I got it only today, and hasten to express my gratitude to you for sending me the book. I have already written an article[300] about it, and on the basis of it, in our St. Petersburg Social-Democratic newspaper *Pravda*, and intend to write again. I believe that this work provides a mass of valuable material for the study of capitalism, being at the same time something of an application of the best methods of our Zemstvo statisticians on *Western* soil.

The comrade who sent me your address (Mr. John Ellert) has written to tell me that you could use your influence to help obtain all kinds of material from the Bureau of the Census in Washington. May I, therefore, ask you to do me a favour, provided of course that this will not give you too much trouble or interfere with your work.

When I made a study of American agricultural statistics (Vol. V. *Agriculture—Census of 1900*) in Paris, I found a great deal of interesting matter. Now, in Cracow, I am unable to obtain these publications. Cahan, editor of the Jewish socialist paper in New York,[301] who was over here a year ago, promised to have them sent, but has apparently forgotten to do so.

They say that when requested by the right people the American Bureau of the Census will send its publications free of charge even to foreign countries. If that is so, could

you put in a word? (I could send the Bureau of the Census library my books, *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* and the *Agrarian Question*.[302]) What I need *most* is *Agriculture*, Vol. V, Census of 1900, and *the same volume of the Census of 1910* (if that is not yet out, then the bulletins).

If that is impossible, would you be so kind as to send a postcard to Mr. John *Ellert* (c/o *Novy Mir*.[303] 140. East 4th Street, New York)—I shall send him the money to buy the things I need most.

I thank you once again for the book, and hope you will pardon the trouble.

With Social-Democratic greetings,

N. Lenin (*V. Ulyanov*)

Address: Wl. Uljanow. 51. Ulica Lubomirskiego. *Krakau* (Galizien). Austria.

Sent to New York

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

TO THE EDITORS OF *PUT PRAVDY*

Dear Colleagues,

I welcome your paper in every way, and particularly its obvious improvement. At last the literary side is beginning to be well organised! The next job is the *business* side. You must not leave the question of subscribers "unpublished" either: you should announce their number, otherwise you cannot rise from the small circle level to full-scale organisation, from a private enterprise to a collective one.

Nor can I pass over an obvious mistake in No. 22, where side by side with the correct resolution from the Vyborg workers (on Buryanov) you have, without comment from the editors, a longer and disgustingly double-faced resolution from the Zurich group.[304] *Pravda*'s word is law; its silence tends to confuse the workers; its abstention sows bewilderment.

With Buryanov one must be "as wise as a serpent", but the editorial board has departed from such wisdom. We praise him *only* for leaving the liquidators, and not at all for lone-wolf "independence". In this the liquidators are *right*, and there is no greater danger for a politician in the struggle than to take up the *wrong* position.

Yet the Zurich group *support* Buryanov in his erroneous, false, double-faced position! And we give them a platform—what for? Knowing that the Zurich group are a *minority* abroad! Knowing that we cannot make *all* the groups abroad express their stand in *Pravda*!

Buryanov should be made to understand and feel the falseness of his attitude. You have left the liquidators? Good.

You have proposed equality? Good.

What then? It is time to make a choice. *We will not support you* in double-dealing (the pendulum game). The liquidators are attacking you as an "independent Social-Democrat": *they are right*, and we shall not defend you. Here is a reasonable period for you, here is assistance during that period (tacit, with speeches, etc.), *but no more than that*. Either you make your choice (within 2 or 4 weeks)—or you get no more help.

That is the only way to act. Otherwise in the *immediate future* (both at the Vienna Congress *and earlier*[305]) Buryanov's stand will do us harm, *and people will be justified in telling us* that we are supporting an "independent".

The editorial board must find an occasion to say (1) that the Vyborg workers are right, not the Zurich group; (2) that, apart from a section of those abroad (Zurich), *no one* in Russia has approved or will approve "independence".

This must be done.

All the best, and wishing the paper every kind of improvement and success!

V. I.

P.S. Within a month, Buryanov will say: the Zurich group supported me, and *only* the workers of Vyborg condemned me! And we shall not have had general mass support *for* the Vyborg group. But that is just what we need most now.

If you "give Buryanov a free hand" and your support, he will consolidate his position *against* us, and that would be a crime against the will of the majority of the workers and against the "Marxist whole".

P.S. Could you please send No. 2 of *Nasha Zarya* as quickly as possible, when it comes out, for a reply to L. Martov in *Prosveshcheniye*?

P.P.S. Please show this letter to the paper's contributors who are in the R.S.D.L. Duma group.

Can you send me Milyukov's article in *Russkiye Vedomosti* where he speaks about the tactics of refusing to believe in a peaceable outcome?

The lost book has been found. *Insist on non-abridgement.*

About the paper, I repeat that the improvement is tremendous. (The same comments from everywhere.) All the best. Laissez-nous écrire plus souvent l'opinion *et les directives* (les commandes même) du rédacteur!*

Written before March 23, 1914
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg

First published in 1956
in the journal *Kommunist* No. 5

Printed from the original

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* Have them inform us more frequently of the editor's opinion *and directives* (nay, his orders)!—*Ed.*

TO Y. B. STANKEVICH

Cracow, March 24, 1914

Dear V. B.,

Since I do not in the main agree with the programme of your journal as you have set it forth, I must decline to be a contributor.[306]

Yours faithfully,
V. Ilyin

Wl. Uljanow. 51. Ulica Lubomirskiego. Kraków.

Sent to St. Petersburg
First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

TO THE EDITORS OF *PUT PRAVDY*

ON THE QUESTION OF THE ARTICLES ABOUT IRELAND

I would ask the editorial board to let me know whether my second article[307] is being published. It ought to be. If there is no room, drop me a line. Otherwise I cannot write the continuation.

I ask you particularly not to be late (as you were with No. 2 of *Borba*) in sending me *Yedinstvo*: the "pro-Party Bolsheviks"[308] on it should, in my opinion, be held up as a laughing-stock, with the straightforward statement that they are zeros, who have never had a single coherent thought on a single question. And Plekhanov should be told: it is a pity that he is now nullifying his great services in the struggle against the liquidators during the period of disorganisation, in the struggle against the Machists at the height of Machism, by preaching what he himself cannot explain. Unity with *whom*, then? with *Nasha Zarya*? with *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta*?—and on *what* terms?

We stand for unity, on precisely specified terms, which have *long since been approved by the majority of the workers*: start from below, enter the underground organisation, prove by deeds your refusal to join in liquidating the Party.

Not all who "cry" unity understand what unity is, or help to bring it about. Those who destroy the will of the *majority* of the workers are not unifiers but disrupters.

(A struggle against Plekhanov is unavoidable, now that he has become involved in this idiotic affair, but he should be set apart from Lyova and Mark, with the emphasis that he had done service, but it is a pity that he is *once again* on the roundabout.)

Write me more frequently, even if briefly. Otherwise it is hard to get the co-operation going.

A thousand greetings to the paper, which has become 1,000 times better! Best wishes of every success!

Send me Nos. 8 and 36-38 of *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta* No. 43 of *Put Pravdy*.

I haven't received Deborin or any other books from *Prosveshcheniye* although I have asked for them more than once. Write about the plan for the next issue.

Written between April 7 and 23, 1914
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg

First published in 1956 in the journal *Kommunist* No. 5

Printed from the original

TO G. L. SHKLOVSKY

Dear Friend,

Yesterday I received a worrying letter from Samoilov.[309] He is worse. He can't sleep. *He is bored*.

Chlenov advised cold (!?) baths. After four baths Samoilov felt *even worse*.

This is terribly unpleasant, because we undertook, so to speak, to get him cured. I am sending him today a letter of recommendation from Landau, the local nerve specialist, to Dr. *De Montet* at the "Mon Repos" sanatorium in *Vevey*.

Evidently Samoilov should be taken to the best nerve specialist and transferred to a sanatorium, with regular treatment and care.

Do this, please. Feel free to spend on telephones and travelling: we shall cover all this if need be, because we must get Samoilov on his feet again by the autumn at all costs.

If necessary, go and see Sali once more. But evidently this calls for a *nerve* specialist. I hope you will find the *best* one in Switzerland, and take Samoilov to him. I am writing about the same matter to Rivlin: please come to an arrangement with him to act together and share the burden.

They say boredom is very harmful for neurasthenics. But what is to be done? Should we take Samoilov along with us to *Poronin* (we are going there on May 1) or to *Zakopane*? We could do that, but *it rains there all the summer*.

Write to me about the result of your visit to the doctor and about your decisions. We might now try the "Mon Repos" sanatorium.

Regards to your family. Nadezhda Konstantinovna sends hers too.

Yours,
Lenin

Written at the end of April 1914
Sent from Cracow to Berne

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

OUR TASKS

We have given a brief review of the history of the working-class press in Russia and of the origin of *Pravda*. We have tried to show how the age-long history of democratic movements in Russia led to the formation of an independent working-class democratic movement under the ideological banner of Marxism—and how the twenty years' history of Marxism and the working-class movement in Russia, as a result of the long struggle of the workers' vanguard against petty-bourgeois opportunist trends, led to the rallying of the vast majority of class-conscious workers around *Pravda*, which was created by the famous upsurge of the working-class movement in the spring of 1912.

We have seen how, during the paper's two years, class-conscious Pravdist workers united ideologically, and to a certain extent also organisationally, by their efforts creating and supporting, strengthening and developing a consistently Marxist workers' press. Strictly insisting on their continuity with the organised Marxists of the preceding historical epoch, not breaking any of their decisions, building the new on the foundations of the old, and going systematically, unswervingly ahead to the firmly and precisely stated aim of consistent Marxism, the Pravdist workers have begun the solution of an unusually difficult historic task.

A whole host of enemies, a whole mass of difficulties, both external and internal, arose in the way of the labour movement in the 1908-11 epoch. In no country in the world has the working-class movement hitherto succeeded in emerging from *such* crises while maintaining its continuity, its organised character, its loyalty to the old decisions, programme and tactics.

But the Russian workers—or more exactly the workers of Russia—*succeeded* in this; they succeeded in emerging with flying colours from an incredibly painful crisis, remaining loyal to the past and maintaining continuity of organisation, while mastering *new* forms of training for their forces, *new* methods of education and mobilisation of fresh generations of the proletariat for the solution by old methods of old but still outstanding historic problems.

Of all the classes of Russian society, the working class of Russia alone succeeded in this—not, of course, because it stood higher than the workers of other countries: on the contrary, it is still far behind them in organisation and class-consciousness. It succeeded in this because it *relied* at once on the *experience* of the workers of the whole world, both on their theoretical experience, on the achievements of their class-consciousness, their science and experience summed up by *Marxism* and on the practical experience of the proletarians of neighbouring countries, with their magnificent workers' press and their mass organisations.

The Pravdist workers, having safeguarded *their own* line in the most difficult and painful of periods against persecution from without and against despondency, scepticism, timidity and betrayal within, can now say to themselves, with full awareness and resolution: we know that we are on the right path, but we are taking only the first steps along that path, and the principal difficulties still lie ahead of us, we still have to do a great deal to consolidate our own position completely, and to raise to conscious activity millions of backward, dormant and downtrodden proletarians.

Let the petty-bourgeois "fellow-travellers" of the proletariat, slavishly following the liberals, hold forth contemptuously against "the underground", against "advertising the illegal press"; let them cherish illusions about the June Third "legality". We know the fragile nature of that "legality", we shall not forget the historic lessons of the importance of an illegal press.

Developing further our "Pravdist" work, we shall push ahead with the purely newspaper side hand in hand with *all* sides of the workers' cause.

Put Pravdy must be circulated in three, four and five times as many copies as today. We must put out a trade union supplement, and have representatives of all trade unions and groups on the editorial board. Our paper must have regional (Moscow, Urals, Caucasian, Baltic, Ukrainian) supplements. We must consolidate—despite all the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalists of all nations without exception—the unity of the workers of *all* the nationalities of Russia, and for this purpose, incidentally, start supplements in our paper devoted to the workers' movement of the various nationalities of Russia.

Both the foreign department of *Put Pravdy* and the chronicle of the *organisational*, ideological and political life of the class-conscious workers should be expanded many times over.

We must create a kopek *Vechernaya Pravda*. *Put Pravdy* in its present shape is essential for the class-conscious worker and should be still further enlarged, but it is too dear, too difficult, too big for the worker in the street, for the rank-and-filer, for any of the millions not yet drawn into the movement. The advanced worker will never forget about them, for he knows that craft isolation, the emergence of a labour aristocracy and its separation from the masses mean degradation and brutalisation of the proletarian and his transformation into a miserable philistine, a pitiful flunkey; it means loss of all hope of his emancipation.

There is need to start a kopek *Vechernaya Pravda*, with a circulation of 200,000 or 300,000 copies in the very thick of the proletarian and semi-proletarian masses, showing them the light of the world-wide working-class movement, inspiring them with faith in their strength, impelling them towards unity and helping them to rise to full class-consciousness.

We must secure a much greater degree of organisation on the part of the readers of *Put Pravdy* than there is now, in their various factories, districts, etc., and more active participation in correspondence and running and circulating the paper. We must get the workers to take a regular part in editorial work.

We must have—there is in fact a great deal more that

we must have! We cannot list here everything that we need; we would even be ridiculous (and worse) if we attempted here to enumerate all spheres, or even the principal fields of our work!

We know that we are on the right path. We know that we are marching hand in hand with the forward-looking workers of all countries. We know that this field of our work is only a small part of the whole, and that we are still at the beginning of our great road to emancipation. But we also know that nothing on earth can stop us on that road.

Rabochy No. 1, April 22, 1914

Printed from the *Rabochy* text

TO A. A. TROYANOVSKY

May 20, 1914

Dear Alexander Antonovich,

Your draft constitution is being discussed.[310] It's a long business: a discussion with Russia and with the Central Committee.

The discussion article has nothing to do with the constitution. Send it over as soon as possible. The end of the article on self-determination should appear in May, and has already been sent off.[311]

Yours,
*N. Lenin**

P.S. It would be a good thing if you sent us Pokrovsky's letters to read. Your proposal to have an exchange of letters with him, so as to get him out of the indecent *Borba*, is very interesting.

Sent from Poronin to Vienna

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

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* The letter also bears the signature of G. Y. Zinoviev.—*Ed.*

TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear Friend,

Many thanks for Volume I of Rubakin. I will return it soon. If it is urgent, drop me a line. I am *very* glad that you don't sympathise with *Sovremennik*: it is a rotten undertaking by a bloc of two lots of scoundrels, the liquidators and the Narodniks. We shall attack it violently. (Mr. Stankevich invited me; I replied: "Because I do not agree in the main, I must decline to be a contributor."*)

Of course, to earn a living all of us sometimes have to work in bourgeois publications! But Messrs. Martov and Dan have made a "demonstration" of it! Plekhanov, too, is in that disgraceful place![312]

I shall be glad to send you the credential of a delegate: do you want it to be legal (how?) or illegal?[313]

All the best,
Yours,
Lenin

Written after May 23, 1914
Sent from Poronin to Vienna

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

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* See p. 276 of this volume.—*Ed.*

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

Hanecki has put an "ultimatum": give us 250 kronen, otherwise we don't go to Brussels. We are not sending them!

I am absolutely against it. It will be even better if *they*[314] don't go. Let Tyszka "make peace" with the P.S.P.—but we are *waiting* for a reply from the opposition.

Lovely!

Take Hanecki a *negative* reply!

Written at Poronin
before July 16, 1914

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

TO G. L. SHKLOVSKY

Dear Grigory Lvovich,

I have just learned that the International Congress has been transferred to Paris for August 9 (N. S.).[315] I hope you are going—and *well ahead of time*, in order to make preparations in Paris (Kamsky was in the delegation at Brussels,[316] and will give you all the information). Reply at once. Even more important is the question of Samoilov's going. Will he be able to go? It is quite probable that none of the members of the Duma will be able to arrive in time from Russia. Therefore it is essential that Samoilov should go. It would be best for you to arrange to travel with him. He could be fixed up (if his treatment so requires) in a pension near Paris (provided there is a telephone) (or even in a clinic) in the country, half an hour or so away by rail. He will have to come to Paris two or three times at most, for 3 or 4 hours each time (possibly even less), so that from the standpoint of his treatment this can probably be arranged. It is only necessary to think it all out beforehand and arrange it by correspondence. (We are not going; Litvinov or Kamsky will attend the I.S.B.)—write to Dr. Wladimirsky (rue Baillon. 10. Paris); he will give advice.

I ask you particularly to make every effort to prepare and arrange this as carefully as possible. If it turns out that Samoilov's journey is *absolutely* impossible, telegraph me immediately (the address is: Uljanow. Poronin): "nievozmozno".* Otherwise, if he can go and you undertake to organise everything, telegraph: "jedet" (= Samoilov is going) or "jedem" (= both you and Samoilov are going).

* Impossible.—*Ed.*

I *need* a cabled reply (you will easily guess why[317]). In addition, write at once.

Regards to Fyodor Nikitich and your family.

Yours,
V. I.

P.S. It is possible—in the event of war—that you will be receiving letters and money for me. I hope we shall then arrange for regular transmission. If I have to leave, I shall cable you.

Absender: Wl. Uljanow. Poronin (Galizien).

Written on July 31, 1914
Sent from Poronin to Berne

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

TO M. V. KOBETSKY

Dear Comrade,

Our trip did not come off.[318] I don't know whether you have got the letters. If you have, send me a reply to check whether the post is working. You may now find yourself, as an exception and an extremely rare one at that, an inhabitant of a non-belligerent country; so that if only the post from you to us functions, you must be sure to keep us informed, and send us information from the papers to which we have no access. Of course, only the most important information (particularly about Russia).

Let me know whether you will have (or whether you already have) any good contacts with Stockholm, and whether you can transmit letters, provide an address for money from Russia, etc.

Regards,
Yours,
*V. I.**

Written on August 2, 1914
Sent from Poronin to Copenhagen

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

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* At the top of the letter Lenin wrote, evidently addressing himself to the landlord: "*Geehrter Herr! Bitte diesen Brief an Herrn Kobezky gefälligst zu übergeben!*" ("Dear Sir, please pass this letter on to Mr. Kobetsky!")—*Ed.*

TO VIKTOR ADLER

September 5, 1914

Dear Comrade,

I have safely arrived with all my family at Zurich.[319] *Legitimationen** were asked for only at Innsbruck and Feldkirche: your help was therefore extremely useful to me. Passports are required for entry into Switzerland, but I was allowed in without a passport when I mentioned Greulich. Very best regards and deepest gratitude.

With Party greetings,

Lenin (*V. Ulyanov*)

Absender: Uljanow bei Bekzadian. Bollegstrasse. 40. Zürich.

Sent from Zurich to Vienna

First published in 1924 in *Lenin Miscellany II*

Printed from the original in German

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* Papers.—*Ed.*

TO V. A. KARPINSKY

September 6

Dear Comrade,

I arrived here safely yesterday with my whole family, after a brief captivity in Austria. Zinoviev will also be coming. We thought of settling in Geneva, where all our old sympathies attract us. But then we began to hesitate in favour of Berne. They say that there's a rush to Geneva of new French émigrés from Paris, Brussels, etc. We wonder if there is an excessive rise in prices, particularly of rents. Also we shall have to make our arrangements on a temporary basis: is it possible to take furnished rooms (two small ones), with use of kitchen, by the month?

One other question: if it is not too much trouble, please call at the Société de lecture (Grand' Rue. 11) and take their rules; I must see whether they have been changed in any way. It is this Société[320] that particularly attracts me to Geneva, although here too?... It's expensive.... What about a printing press? Is there a Russian one? Can one now publish a leaflet, etc.? In Russian? With special precautions, or as before (against the war, of course, and against the new type of nationalists, from Haase to Vandervelde and Guesde—they've all played false!). You will oblige me very much by replying to all these questions as soon as possible. Are there any other Bolshevik comrades in Geneva? Including those going to Russia? Best regards from all of us to you, to Comrade Olga and all our friends.

Yours,
N. Lenin

Written on September 6, 1914
Sent from Berne to Geneva

First published on April 22, 1926
in *Pravda* No. 92

Printed from the original

TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear Friend,

I have your letter telling me of the talk with Sigg about the publication.[321] That's excellent! Take as much as you require of the 160 francs (as little as possible, of course, because we are hoping to publish a little miscellany) and publish the *manifesto*[322] (*not the theses*[323] *but the manifesto*) with the *maximum precautions*; don't print many (200 or 300) and *hide* the stock *without fail* at the Swiss deputy's.

If you do not have the text of the manifesto, but only the theses, get the manifesto at Lausanne.

I am awaiting your reply.

Yours,
Lenin

We shall send what is published to Paris and to Russia: a hundred for abroad, two hundred for Russia. We shall write again about how to send them and to what addresses.

Written before October 15, 1914
Sent from Berne to Geneva
First published in 1929 in *Lenin Miscellany XI*
Printed from the original

SPEECH AT G. V. PLEKHANOV'S LECTURE "ON THE ATTITUDE OF THE SOCIALISTS TO THE WAR", SEPTEMBER 28 (OCTOBER 11), 1914[324]

BRIEF NEWSPAPER REPORT

"Our theses, worked out by the Central Committee of the Party," Comrade Lenin began, "were sent to the Italians, and many of them, unfortunately not all, were incorporated in the Lugano resolution.[325]

The opponent very much liked the first part of Plekhanov's report, dealing with the betrayal of the German Social-Democrats,[326] but the same could not be said about the second part, in which Plekhanov tried to justify completely the stand of the French socialists.

How was it possible to defend French socialism, which had called on the Italians to enter the war? It was difficult to find any passages to justify this appeal even in the extremely elastic resolutions of the International.

The present war had shown the enormous wave of opportunism that had risen out of the depths of European socialism. The European opportunists, in order to rehabilitate themselves, had tried to fall back on the old and hackneyed argument about "keeping the organisation intact". The orthodox Germans had gone back on their stand to preserve the formal unity of the party. He, Comrade Lenin, had always pointed out the opportunism lurking in such an approach, he had always fought against conciliatory attitudes which sacrifice principles. All the resolutions of Vandervelde and Kautsky suffered from this opportunist tendency of smoothing over obvious contradictions. Kautsky, in his article "About the War",[327] had even talked him-

self into justifying everybody, asserting that all were right from their point of view, since *subjectively* they considered themselves to be in danger and *subjectively* considered their right to exist to have been violated. Of course, from the standpoint of the psychology of the moment and humanitarian considerations, such a mood was more comprehensible among the French and could therefore be viewed with greater sympathy; still socialism could not argue from fear of attack alone, and it had to be frankly said that there was more chauvinism than socialism in the behaviour of the French.

Plekhanov, Lenin said further, criticised those comrades who asserted that it was impossible to find out who attacked first. In the opponent's opinion, the present war was not at all *accidental*, and had not depended on this or that attack, but had been prepared by all the conditions of development of bourgeois society. It had been predicted long ago, and precisely in such a combination and precisely along such lines. The Basle Congress spoke about it quite clearly, and even foresaw that Serbia would be the pretext for a conflict.

Comrade Lenin then analysed the duty of socialists in wartime. *Social-Democrats did their duty only when they fought chauvinist passions at home.* And the Serbian Social-Democrats[328] offered the best example of such fulfilment of duty.

Not forgetting the words of Marx that "the workingmen have no country", the proletariat should take part, not in defending the old framework of the bourgeois states, but in creating a new framework for socialist republics. And the great mass of the proletariat would realise this through its sure instinct. What was going on in Europe was nothing but speculation on the worst—and the most deep-rooted—of prejudices. "Our task," said Lenin, "is not to swim with the tide, but to transform the national, the pseudo-national war into a resolute encounter of the proletariat with the ruling classes."

Lenin then went on to criticise the entry of socialists into governments, and pointed out the responsibility falling on socialists who back their government's every step.

"*It is better to go to a neutral country and from there to tell the truth, it is better to make a free and independent appeal to the proletariat, than to become a Minister*"—with those words the opponent ended his short speech.

Golos No. 33, October 2, 1914

Printed from the *Golos* text

LECTURE ON "THE PROLETARIAT AND THE WAR" OCTOBER 1 (14), 1914[329]

NEWSPAPER REPORT

The speaker divided his lecture into two parts: clarifying the nature of the present war, and the attitude of socialists to the war.

For a Marxist clarifying the nature of the war is a necessary preliminary for deciding the question of his attitude to it. But for such a clarification it is essential, first and foremost, to establish the objective conditions and concrete circumstances of the war in question. It is necessary to consider the war in the historical environment in which it is taking place, only then can one determine one's attitude to it. Otherwise, the resulting interpretation will be not materialist but eclectic.

Depending on the historical circumstances, the relationship of classes, etc., the attitude to war must be different at different times. It is absurd once and for all to renounce participation in war in principle. On the other hand, it is also absurd to divide wars into defensive and aggressive. In 1848, Marx hated Russia, because at that time democracy in Germany could not win out and develop, or unite the country into a single national whole, so long as the reactionary hand of backward Russia hung heavy over her.

In order to clarify one's attitude to the present war, one must understand how it differs from previous wars, and what its peculiar features are.

Has the bourgeoisie given such an explanation? No. Far from having given one, it will not manage to give one in any circumstances. Judging by what is going on among

the socialists, one might think that they, too, have no idea of the distinctive features of the present war.

Yet, the socialists have given an excellent explanation of it, and have predicted it. More than that, there is not a single speech by a socialist deputy, not a single article by a socialist publicist, that does not contain that explanation. It is so simple that people somehow do not take notice of it, and yet it provides the key to the correct attitude to the present war.

The present war is an imperialist one, and that is its basic feature.

In order to clarify this, it is necessary to examine the nature of previous wars, and that of the imperialist war.

Lenin dwelt in considerable detail on the characteristics of wars at the end of the 18th and during the whole of the 19th centuries. They were all *national wars*, which accompanied and promoted the creation of national states.

These wars marked the destruction of feudalism, and were an expression of the struggle of the new, bourgeois society against feudal society. The national state was a necessary phase in the development of capitalism. The struggle for the self-determination of a nation, for its independence, for freedom to use its language, for popular representation, served this end—the creation of national states, that ground necessary at a certain stage of capitalism for the development of the productive forces.

Such was the character of wars from the time of the great French Revolution up to and including the Italian and Prussian wars.

This task of the national wars was performed either by democracy itself or with the help of Bismarck, quite independently of the will and the consciousness of those who took part in them. The triumph of present-day civilisation, the full flowering of capitalism, the drawing of the whole people and of all nations into capitalism—that was the outcome of national wars, the wars at the beginning of capitalism.

An imperialist war is quite a different matter. On this point, there was no disagreement among the socialists of all countries and all trends. At all congresses, in discussing resolutions on the attitude to a possible war, everyone

was always agreed that this war would be an *imperialist one*. All European countries have already reached an equal stage in the development of capitalism, all of them have already yielded everything that capitalism can yield. Capitalism has already attained its highest form, and is no longer exporting commodities, but capital. It is beginning to find its national framework too small for it, and now the struggle is on for the last free scraps of the earth. If national wars in the 18th and 19th centuries marked the beginning of capitalism, imperialist wars point to its end.

The whole end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century were filled with imperialist policy.

Imperialism is what impresses a quite specific stamp on the present war, distinguishing it from all its predecessors.

Only by examining this war in its distinctive historical environment, as a Marxist must do, can we clarify our attitude to it. Otherwise we shall be operating with old conceptions and arguments, applied to a different, an old situation. Among such obsolete conceptions are the fatherland idea and the division, mentioned earlier, of wars into defensive and aggressive.

Of course, even now there are blotches of the old colour in the living picture of reality. Thus, of all the warring countries, the Serbs alone are still fighting for national existence. In India and China, too, class-conscious proletarians could not take any other path but the national one, because their countries have not yet been formed into national states. If China had to carry on an offensive war for this purpose, we could only sympathise with her, because objectively it would be a progressive war. In exactly the same way, Marx in 1848 could call for an offensive war against Russia.

And so the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th are characterised by imperialist policy.

Imperialism is that state of capitalism when, having done all that it could, it turns towards decline. It is a special epoch, not in the minds of socialists, but in actual relationships. A struggle is on for a division of the remaining portions. It is the last historical task of capitalism. We cannot say how long this epoch will last. There may

well be several such wars, but there must be a clear understanding that these are quite different wars from those waged earlier, and that, accordingly, the tasks facing socialists have changed.

To tackle these new tasks the proletarian party may need organisations of a very different type.

Kautsky, in his pamphlet *Weg zur Macht*,* pointed out, in making a careful and detailed examination of economic phenomena and drawing very cautious conclusions from them, that we were entering a phase quite unlike the old peaceful and gradual development.

It is hard to say just now what the new form of organisation, corresponding to this phase, should be. But it is clear that in view of the new tasks, the proletariat will have to create new organisations or modify the old. All the more absurd is the fear of disarray in one's organisation, so vividly manifest among the German Social-Democrats; all the more absurd is this legalism at all costs. We know that the St. Petersburg Committee has issued an illegal leaflet against the war. The same has been done by the Caucasian and certain other organisations in Russia. There is no doubt that this could also be done abroad, without any rupture of ties.

Legality, of course, is a most valuable thing, and Engels had good reason to say: "Messrs. bourgeois, you will have to be the first to break your legality!"[330] What is now going on might teach the German Social-Democrats a lesson, because a government which has always boasted of its legality is not put out by now having violated it all along the line. In this respect, the brutal order of the Berlin Commandant, which he forced *Vorwärts*[331] to run on its front page, may prove useful. But *Vorwärts* itself, once it renounced the class struggle on pain of being closed down, and promised not to refer to it until the end of the war, has committed suicide. It is dead, as the Paris *Golos*,[332] now the best socialist paper in Europe, has rightly said. The more frequently and the more violently I differed with Martov before, the more definitely I must say now that that writer is now doing precisely what a Social-Democrat

* *The Way to Power.—Ed.*

should do. He is criticising his own government, he is unmasking his own bourgeoisie, he is accusing his own Ministers. Meanwhile, those socialists who have disarmed in relation to their own government, and devote themselves to exposing and shaming the Ministers and ruling classes of another country, play the part of bourgeois writers. Südekum himself is objectively playing the part of agent of the German Government, as others play it in relation to the French and Russian allies.

Socialists who fail to realise that the present war is imperialist, who fail to take a historical view of it, will understand nothing about the war. They are capable of taking a childishly naïve view of it, in this sense, that at night one seized the other by the throat, and the neighbours have to save the victim of attack, or in cowardly fashion to shut themselves away from the light "behind locked doors" (in Plekhanov's words).

We shall not allow ourselves to be deceived, and let the bourgeois advisers explain the war as simply as that: people were living at peace, then one attacked, and the other is defending himself.

Comrade Lenin read an extract from an article by Luzzatti, carried by an Italian newspaper. In that article, the Italian politician rejoices that the great victor in the war turned out to be ... the fatherland, the idea of fatherland, and repeats that we should remember the words of Cicero who said that "civil war is the greatest evil".

This is what the bourgeoisie have managed to achieve, this is what excites and delights them most, this is what they have spent vast sums and efforts on. They are trying to convince us that it is the same old, conventional, national war.

No, indeed. The era of national wars is past. This is an imperialist war, and the task of socialists is to turn the "national" war into a civil war.

We all expected this imperialist war, and prepared for it. And if this is so, it is not at all important who attacked first; all were preparing for the war, and the attacker was the one who thought it most advantageous to do so at the particular moment.

Comrade Lenin then went on to define the conception of "fatherland" from the socialist point of view.

This conception was clearly and precisely defined by the *Communist Manifesto*, in the brilliant pages whose truth has been fully tested and justified by experience. Lenin read an extract from the *Communist Manifesto*, where the conception of fatherland is regarded as a historical category, which corresponds to the development of society at a definite stage and which later becomes unnecessary. The proletariat cannot love what it has not got. The proletariat has no country.

What are the tasks of the socialists in the present war?

Comrade Lenin read the Stuttgart resolution, later confirmed and supplemented at Copenhagen and Basle.[333] This resolution clearly states the socialists' methods of combating the trends leading to war and their duties in respect of a war that has broken out. These duties are defined by the examples of the Russian revolution and the Paris Commune. The Stuttgart resolution was carefully worded, in consideration of all kinds of criminal laws, but it indicated the task clearly. The Paris Commune is civil war. The form, the time and the place are a different matter, but the direction of our work is clearly defined.

From this angle, Comrade Lenin then examined the actual stand taken by socialists in the various countries. Apart from the Serbs, the Russians have done their duty, as the Italian *Avanti!* notes, and Keir Hardie is doing it by exposing the policy of Edward Grey.

Once the war is on, it is impossible to escape it. One must go and do one's duty as a socialist. In a war, people think and ponder probably even more than "at home". One must go out and organise the proletariat there for the final aim, because it is utopian to imagine that the proletariat will tread a peaceful path to it. It is impossible to go over from capitalism to socialism without breaking up the national framework, just as it was impossible to pass from feudalism to capitalism without national ideas.

Golos Nos. 37 and 38, October 25 and 27, 1914

Printed from the *Golos* text

TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear V. K.,

I am sending you the manifesto on account of *five* amendments. Please make them in the proofs as carefully as possible.[334]

I am also sending "A Reply to Vandervelde"[335]—*for setting*.

As many articles as possible should be set in *brevier*. We must get the maximum of material into the two pages. It's a pity that we hadn't thought of this when sending the manifesto for setting.

The whole question now is, how many thousands of letters can be got into the two pages? The C.O.'s *old* format *should be taken* (there is no masthead in Geneva it is desirable to make up the new masthead as economically as possible, so as to lose the least space: say, have the masthead fit in a corner, instead of "covering" all three columns).

We are waiting for an exact calculation of the size: how many letters in brevier can be got in.

Best of all, send us both the proof of the manifesto (the second proof) and samples of all types, including the very smallest.

The masthead for the issue (this should be the *next* No. of the C.O.) should also specify the price: 10 cts., I think. In any case, it is *essential* to send us a proof of the issue *made up* into pages.

If the *whole thing* could be set up in brevier, with the C.O. format, we should have about 40,000 letters in the two pages. We could then insert another couple of articles which we are preparing. (If the manifesto has *already* been

set, and in an unsuitable type, etc., we shall publish it separately.)

You will have considerable correspondence expenses: everything must be sent in envelopes, not in wrappers. Keep a record of your postal expenses and draw upon the "fund" (160 frs.), otherwise you will be ruined!

Ask Syoma to get us *Sozialistische Monatshefte* [all the issues since the war] from the Bundists: if necessary, we shall pay, and will *guarantee* to return them at the time fixed (even with a deposit, if required).

Best wishes,
Yours,
Lenin

P.S. Let me know when the two-page issue of the C.O. *can* be ready. I shall be lecturing at Montreux shortly (I don't know exactly when) and can call on you, *should* it be necessary.[336]

Written on October 18, 1914
Sent from Berne to Geneva

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear V. K.,

The compositor has dragged things out terribly! He promised the manifesto for Monday, and today is Friday. Terrible!

Will it always be like this?

As regards the address to be put on the paper: is it worth while taking a *case**? After all (1) this will make you go to the Post Office 100 times for nothing, (2) the authorities will eventually know *who* has taken the box. Think it over, whether it would not be better to indicate, as the address, Bibliothèque russe—*for the editorial board of the C.O.*?

Let's think about it.

Nicolet, they say, is *incapable* of keeping and transmitting money, and so forth.

I have written about the order of the articles: send us the proofs as they come in. Then it will not be necessary to waste *two* days (that's terribly long) on sending what has been made up (if it is sent by *express*, one day is more than enough).

We are waiting impatiently for the proofs.

On Monday, I am lecturing at Montreux, on Tuesday, at Zurich. I won't go to Geneva.

Regards and best wishes,

Yours,

Lenin

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* Post office box.—*Ed.*

I have just received your letter. As regards Jaurès and Frank, we shall postpone it for a while. We have to wait. No point in just censuring them. And there is nothing to praise them for. We have decided to keep quiet for a while.

What about the proofs? Will it always take that long? The last No. of the C.O. was in December 1913—No. *32*. So this one must be No. *33*.

Written on October 23, 1914
Sent from Berne to Geneva

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV

November 14, 1914

Dear Friend,

I am very glad to hear from you that the C.O. has been received, and is to go where it should.

As regards your speech at the congress of the Swedish Social-Democrats, I can advise only this: either no speech at all, or a statement that you greet the fraternal party of the Swedish workers and wish it every success *in the spirit of revolutionary international Social-Democracy*.[337] If you cannot say *this*, then it is not worth while speaking at all. But if possible, of course, it would be best to add (1) that the Russian workers have expressed their view through the Social-Democratic Duma group, which did *not* vote for the budget, (2) that they are issuing *illegal* leaflets in St. Petersburg, Riga, Moscow and the Caucasus, (3) that the organs of their Party, the C.C. and the C.O., have declared against international opportunism.

Is this "done"?—H'm.... Of course, Branting won't like it, but it's not our business to "please" the opportunists. If you are given 10-12 minutes and *freedom* of speech, then you should speak *against German* (and other) opportunism, without, of course, in any way touching either the Swedish Social-Democrats or their "Young", and so forth. As regards restoring the International, I would advise you *not* to say anything, either directly or indirectly. I am sending you an article (a very good one!) on this theme (translate it and send it to Russia).[338] We shall keep silent on the question of restoring the International, and stay on the side lines. We must bide our time. The *Leftists*[339]

are beginning to stir among the Germans: *if* they have a split, *then*, maybe, the International will be saved from rotting.

As regards the watchword of "peace", you are mistaken if you think the bourgeoisie doesn't even want to hear of it. Today I have been reading the English *Economist*. The *wise* bourgeois of an advanced country are *for* peace (of course, in order to *strengthen* capitalism).[340] But we must not let ourselves be confused with the petty-bourgeois, sentimental liberals, etc. The epoch of the *bayonet* has begun. This is a fact; consequently, we have to fight *with such a weapon too*.

One of these days, the slogan of peace will be taken up by the *German* bourgeoisie, and particularly by the *opportunists*. We must stand for the watchword of *the revolutionary proletariat*, capable of *fighting* for *its own* aims—and that is civil war. This too is a *very* concrete watchword, and *it alone* unerringly reveals the main trends: either for the proletarian, or for the bourgeois cause.

As regards the debt to the Swedes,[341] neither I nor Nadezhda Konstantinovna can remember anything at all. But it is *quite* possible that either I did not know, or have forgotten. It would be a very good thing, therefore, to send them a friendly letter of thanks, suggesting that the debt should be "donated". I think you yourself could do this, on behalf of the Petrograd Committee, for example, plus *some* Social-Democratic deputies, authorising you in Petrograd. I believe this would be the best form. I think you should act in the same way on the loan. I would not advise pushing a letter from me (it could start "*factional*" squabbles!). I will send a letter if you insist, but my advice is: don't. *Without* me they will be *better* inclined to give, really! Refer to Petrovsky, get a letter from him (if need be), this is better, really!

All the very best,
Yours,
N. Lenin

P.S. If Kollontai translates the Central Committee manifesto (from No. 33 of the C.O.) into German, perhaps you will send us a copy?

P.S. About the "peace" watchword. An interesting article by Bernstein in the last issue of *Neue Zeit* shows that in Britain, where the bourgeoisie is cleverest and freest of all, etc., there is a trend *for peace* from the standpoint of ultra-opportunism. That is, peace is the best guarantee of "social peace", i.e., the *submission* of the proletariat to the bourgeoisie, the pacification of the proletariat, the *continuation* of the existence of capitalism. Bernstein's article does not elaborate this. But it is obvious that there are many *such* peacemakers among the liberal and radical *bourgeois* of all countries. Add to this (1) that *all* chauvinists are also for peace (only on *what* terms)—and in the legal press, we shall *not be allowed* to speak of our terms! (2) that the German and Russian *Courts* are also for a particular kind of peace with each other (in secret today, half-open tomorrow), (3) that all the sentimental bourgeois and philistines are "for peace" from the "anti-revolutionary", philistine, slavish, etc., standpoint.

The question is, who *objectively* now benefits from the watchword of peace? In any case, not the propaganda of the ideas of the *revolutionary* proletariat! Not the idea of *utilising* the war to *hasten* the collapse of capitalism!

Add to this the victory of the opportunist chauvinists in nearly all countries: the slogan of peace will only *help* them to *extricate themselves*.

Sent from Berne to Stockholm

First published in 1924 in *Lenin Miscellany II*

Printed from the original

TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV

November 25

Dear Friend,

Last night we read of the arrest of 11 people (including 5 members of the R.S.D.L. Duma group[342]) near Petrograd, and we sent a telegram to Branting today to help you ascertain (through the Finns *le cas échéant**) whether the 5 members of the R.S.D.L. Duma group have been arrested.

It will be a bad blow if it is true!

But all the more impermissible in that case will be your departure for Denmark. In any case, I protest energetically against such a departure. This is the time for you to be in Stockholm personally, in order to establish better, more frequent and more extensive contacts. This is a difficult job, it requires an experienced person, with a knowledge of at least one foreign language. It *cannot* be left just to "anyone" to look after.

If you are pressed (by the police) in Stockholm, you should hide in some village *near* Stockholm (this is easily done, they have telephones everywhere). I think Kollontai, too, could soon easily come to Stockholm or to some suburban place, incognito.

We shall soon be issuing No. 34 of the C.O., and then No. 35 as well.

Reply as quickly as possible. We have been getting all your letters. We have also received the document[343] of the liquidators (*their* reply to Vandervelde). Thanks.

All good wishes, and we are awaiting your news.

Yours,
Lenin

Written on November 25, 1914
Sent from Berne to Stockholm

First published in 1924
in *Lenin Miscellany II*

Printed from the original

* If there is a chance.—*Ed.*

TO ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI

Dear and esteemed Comrade,

I am very grateful to you for sending me the leaflet[344] (for the time being, I can only pass it on to the *Rabotnitsa* editorial board members here—they have already sent a letter to Clara Zetkin, with a content similar to yours, evidently), and also for the offer to send information about Britain for the C.O. I am in correspondence with a comrade in London (Mr. Litvinoff), who represents our Party's C.C. in the I.S.B.; but of course the more connections we have with representatives of the Left wing of the International, the better. I quite agree with you that these representatives ought to keep closer together, and take common counsel. And it is with this end in view that I take advantage of your kind letter to continue the conversation you began.

You don't seem to agree with the slogan of civil war quite fully, but assign to it, one might say, a subordinate (and, I think, even conditional) place, behind the slogan of peace. And you emphasise that "we need to put forward a slogan that would *unite* everyone".

Let me say frankly that what I fear most at present is just this kind of blanket unification which, I am convinced, is the most dangerous and the most harmful thing for the proletariat. After all, Kautsky has already invented, in *Neue Zeit*, an ultra-"unifying" theory,[345] which....*

Written between November 28 and December 8, 1914
Sent from Berne to Copenhagen

First published in 1924 in *Lenin Miscellany II*

Printed from the original

* The letter breaks off at this point.—*Ed.*

TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear V. K.,

I have received the C.O. You are doing an excellent job; best regards and thanks!

I also enclose a little note for No. 35. It will squeeze in, I hope?

Perhaps something else can be squeezed in as well?

Best regards,
Yours,
Lenin

P.S. I believe Syoma reads *Vorwärts*? Would he be so kind as to send us *extracts* (brief ones) of the most interesting items? For example, about the conflict between the *Vorwärts* editorial board and the Central Committee of the trade unions?[346] About my lecture at Zurich?[347] About the victory of the opportunists in Sweden, etc.? Only the *most* important news in *a couple of words*, so that we can keep track of the *Vorwärts* line.

Likewise with the German Social-Democratic papers *in America*.

Does he read them?

Written between December 5 and 12, 1914
Sent from Berne to Geneva
First published in 1929 in *Lenin Miscellany XI*
Printed from the original

TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear V. K.,

I enclose the proofs.

We shall have to wait with No. 36.[348] It's not yet written, and we ought to wait a little while.

Best regards,
Yours,
Lenin

P.S. I read with interest the remarks about "national pride", but—could not agree. Chauvinism should be "spotlighted" *from different angles*.[349]

Be sure to insert the following about the *postponement*. #Insertion*:

For lack of space, part of the material, a statement by Liebknecht, etc., has been held over.

Excuse the extreme haste!

We have shortened the manuscripts, i.e., the articles.

Written on December 9, 1914
Sent from Berne to Geneva

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

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* The text of the insertion is given on a separate sheet.—*Ed.*

TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV

Dear Friend,

I (and Nadezhda Konstantinovna) have had a letter from Kollontai. We are going to reply to her.

My letters to you, I am sure, are being lost or delayed: I have written more than once through Kobetsky. Inquire once again.

We have received your manuscript, and intend to publish it in the C.O. (or as a pamphlet).[350]

Do you read *Golos*? It already shows signs of Martov's turnabout[351]—Axelrod's efforts to "reconcile" (Martov with Südekum, i.e., Plekhanov)—and next to that Trotsky "*against*" an "amnesty"!

What a mess! And they dare abuse us for "factionalism" (while making peace with social-chauvinism for the sake of factionalism!). An unpleasant and tiresome picture.

If you attend the conference,[352] be on your guard. If you do speak, I advise you to *repeat* your Stockholm speech, *adding* that the entry of the Belgians and the French into the government is also betrayal (even if with *extenuating* circumstances). Otherwise they will think that out of *Russian* chauvinism we are abusing *only* the Germans.

In my opinion it is *not worth while* sending a *report*, *it should not be done*.

What should be done, for information (only)—and on behalf of *Litvinov* (Litvinoff. 76. High Street. 76. Hampstead. London. N.W.)—is to send a full translation of the manifesto and of the report of the arrest of the 5 (and the 11). I hope you have already had an exchange of letters with Litvinov?

All good wishes,

Yours,

Lenin

P.S. What did Kollontai think of the "document"[353] and the latest issues (80-86 and the following) of *Golos*?

P.S. I have just read that the conference is to take place on January 17, and that the Swiss Party has *refused*. I think that, if that is the case, it is better not to participate *at all*.

P.P.S. Kautsky, in the *Labour Leader*, is *for the slogan of peace*.[354] There is my reply to Comrade Kollontai! I wonder if she will still be in favour of this watchword now.

Written after December 28, 1914
Sent from Berne to Copenhagen

First published in 1924
in *Lenin Miscellany II*

Printed from the original

1915

TO V. A. KARPINSKY

January 3, 1915

Dear Friends,

Many thanks for your greetings, and from all of us also (from Nadezhda Konstantinovna and me in particular) best wishes for the new year!

A Paris compositor has offered to come to Geneva and set the C.O. for *35 francs* an issue, if we find a printing press which will provide him with the type.[355]

Discuss this *from all points of view* (reduction of expenses is desirable, because we have decided to publish the C.O. weekly) and reply as soon as you can.

Furthermore, consider also when the material should be sent in, by what day everything should be ready and for what day publication should be timed in the interests of circulation. It would seem that the most convenient day for circulation is Saturday. If so, should it be published on Wednesday or Thursday? So that we should have it here on Friday, and the whole of Switzerland by Saturday.

All the best,

Yours,

Lenin

Sent from Berne to Geneva

First published in 1929 in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

TO THE EDITORIAL SECRETARY OF GRANAT PUBLICATIONS

January 4, 1915

Dear Colleague,

I received your letter yesterday and sent a telegram "*consens*"—agreed. However sad it is that the editors struck out everything about socialism and tactics (without which Marx is not Marx), I had to agree all the same, because your argument ("absolutely impossible") could not be gainsaid.[356]

I shall be very grateful if you send me a proof, or drop me a postcard about *when* it could be expected. By the way, is there still time for some corrections to the section on dialectics? Perhaps you will be so kind as to let me know when it is being sent for setting, and what the deadline is for corrections. It is a question I have been working on these last six weeks, and I think I could add something if there is still time.

Then I would like to offer my services to the editors of the dictionary, if there are still any unallotted articles in the volumes to be published. I am now in exceptionally good conditions as regards German and French libraries, to which I have access in Berne—and in exceptionally bad conditions as regards literary work in general. Therefore I would be very glad to take on articles on questions of political economy, politics, the labour movement, philosophy, etc. My wife has written on education, as N. Krupskaya, in *Russkaya Shkola* and *Svobodnoye Vospitaniye*,[357] and has made a particular study of the question of the "*Labour School*" and the old pedagogical classics. She would be glad to undertake articles on these questions.

At your service,

V. Ulyanov

Wl. Uljanow. Distelweg. 11. *Bern*.

Sent from Berne to Moscow

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XII*

Printed from the original

TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV

Dear Friend,

We have once more decided (after having a talk yesterday with Grimm, by the way) to advise you not to attend the council of the heathen: let the liquidators attend the Copenhagen conference, if they like. We should do *better* not to take part at all.

Even the Swiss are not going.

This appears to be an intrigue of the Germans. I even think that it involves an intrigue of the German General Staff, who want to probe for "peace" through others.

We shall learn nothing there. Nothing much can be done there. All we need is to send in the manifesto.

I am in a great hurry, so excuse the abruptness.

Yours,
Lenin

Written before January 17, 1915
Sent from Berne to Copenhagen

First published in 1924
in *Lenin Miscellany II*

Printed from the original

TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV

Dear Friend,

We are sending you notepaper with our stamp. But if you must have it *en tête*,* drop us a line, and we shall order it at once at the printer's.

I made inquiries about the deputies' photographs yesterday. They have already been ordered here, and will be ready this week. We shall then send them on to you.[358]

No. 36 is long since out, and has been sent you.

No. 37 is being printed.

The instructions about the number of copies to be sent have been passed on.

I fully approve your plans on stamps for contributions, etc., etc. Altogether, as regards your position, you will already see in No. 36 that you are the official, fully authorised representative of the C.C.; you were one before, and you remain one still. I think this position is quite definite. We see neither reason for, nor possibility of, changing it now (until we have ascertained what's going on in Russia). I am absolutely convinced that you were writing sincerely, *en dehors de toute*,** etc., and therefore hope that you will write me just as sincerely, if there are nevertheless any inconveniences, and what they are. Write frankly (to me privately if you find it more convenient).

Golos has been closed down. The O.C. people[359] are clearly breaking up. In Zurich Martov was turned (by Axelrod + Martynov + Semkovsky + the Bundists) *to the right*, towards "peace" with the Plekhanovs and the Südekums. The

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* At the head.—*Ed.*

** Apart from everything else.—*Ed.*

Bundists have issued No. 7 of their *Information Bulletin*; it is colourless, totally for peace with the Südekums (including Kautsky; in what way is he better than the Südekums?).

With all my heart I wish you success in your difficult work, and am very thankful for your news. We have received the Copenhagen resolutions.

Yours,
Lenin

Written between January 20 and February 1, 1915
Sent from Berne to Copenhagen

First published in 1924 in *Lenin Miscellany II*

Printed from the original

TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV

Dear Friend,

Your plan for a trip in April and preparations for it seems to be *completely* correct.[360] You are right: that is the plan to adopt and prepare as systematically and in as much detail as possible.

Thank you for your letters. We have written to you several times. We have also sent notepaper with our stamp, I hope you have received all this.

Today we received an issue of *Nashe Slovo*, which has begun to appear in Paris instead of *Golos*, which was closed down. The issue of *Nashe Slovo* contains a statement by Martov (and Dan) on their differences with *Nasha Zarya*.

Evidently, there is a big cleavage among them (the liquidators), and no one can say what will happen. Axelrod is clearly trying to "reconcile" the German (and Bundist) chauvinists with the Francophiles (and Plekhanov). After Zurich, Martov sang to Axelrod's tune, but whether he is now "gone left" for long, we don't know.

In a few days we shall be issuing No. 37 of *Sotsial-Demokrat*.

All the best, and I wish you every success

Yours,
Lenin

Before April, we shall try (together with you) to organise correspondence, and establish some contacts. You, too, should make arrangements *in good time*.

Written on January 30 or 31, 1915
Sent from Berne to Copenhagen
First published in 1924 in *Lenin Miscellany II*
Printed from the original

MAY DAY AND THE WAR[361]

INTRODUCTION

1. This year, the demonstration of the international proletarian movement takes place during the greatest European war.

2. Perhaps nothing can be done in 1915 for "a review of forces"? for comparing "successes and defeats"? for contrasting the bourgeois world and the proletarian world?—since the appearance=*all* has collapsed.

3. But this is not so. War=the greatest possible crisis. *Every* crisis means (with the possibility of *temporary* retardation and regress)

(α) acceleration of development
(γ) (β) sharpening of contradictions
(β) (γ) their exposure
(δ) collapse of all that is *rotten*, etc.

That is the standpoint from which to consider the crisis (on May Day): does it have any of the progressive, useful features of *any* crisis?

COLLAPSE OF BOURGEOIS-NATIONAL FATHERLANDS

4. "Defence of fatherlands" and the actual nature of the war. What is the essence? Nationalism versus imperialism.

5. 1789-1871 (about 100 years)...
and 1905-?

6. "Defence of fatherlands" (Belgium? Galicia? Over the division of the slaveowners' spoils)
versus "away with frontiers". Collapse of national fatherlands? Good riddance!

7. Imperialism old and new—*Rome* and *Britain versus Germany*.

{ Seizure of territories
Colonies
Division of the world
Export of capital }

8. Maturity of the objective conditions for socialism.
9. How to defend the *status quo*?
How to carry on the revolutionary struggle for socialism?
10. National freedom *versus* imperialism. The proletariat of oppressor and oppressed nations.
11. "Internationalism" in the attitude to wars. (("Which bourgeoisie is better"? or independent action by the proletariat?))

12. Back (to the national fatherland) or forward (to the socialist revolution)? [Σ= the collapse of national narrowness.]

COLLAPSE OF OFFICIAL SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTIES

13. Everyone feels (if he does not realise) the turning-point in the history of the working-class movement The crisis and the collapse of the International. What is the cause? Was the International united, or were there two trends?
14. A review of attitudes to the war within the working-class movement of the major countries:

{ Germany: August 4 versus Borchardt and *Die Internationale*[362]
Britain:
France: (Guesde+Sembat versus Merrheim)
Russia: }

{Italy, Switzerland, Sweden} In practice, two parties everywhere

15. What is the point? Compare the British and the German labour movement =

Bourgeois tendencies and influence in the labour movement.

16. Fifteen years of struggle against opportunism, and its growth in Western Europe. The collapse of opportunism benefits the working-class movement.

((Guesde-Hyndman-Kautsky-Plekhanov.))

17. The crisis of official Marxism (1895-1915). Not to resurrect the corpse, but to develop revolutionary Marxism against opportunist "would-be Marxism".

18. Marxism versus Struvism....

Dialectics versus eclecticism....

19. Torn banner? Stuttgart 1907
(disillusionment) Chemnitz* 1910
Basle 1912

20. "All possibilities" *except* revolutionary action.

21. Anarchism = opportunism (petty-bourgeois). *La Bataille Syndicaliste* {Cornelissen, Grave, Kropotkine}

22. *Abdankung der deutschen Sozialdemokratie*.**

Ineffectual organisations have broken up or, rather, perished—to clear the ground for better ones. "Over-ripening" (not that the proletariat has not matured): compare 1907.

COLLAPSE OF PETTY-BOURGEOIS ILLUSIONS ABOUT CAPITALISM

23. The war is seen, on the one hand, as a single national cause, and on the other, as an abnormality, a disruption of "peaceful" capitalism, etc.

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* Evidently meaning the Copenhagen Congress.—*Ed.*

** The recantation of German Social-Democrats.—*Ed.*

Both illusions are harmful. And the war tends to destroy both illusions.

24. "*Burgfrieden*",* the "national bloc", "*l'union sacrée*"** during the war?

25. War is a "terrible" thing? Yes. But it is a terribly *profitable* thing.

160,000 millions>60,000 million rubles.

*Mehrwert****=*10,000-20,000 million* rubles.

26. "Adaptation" of industry to war conditions. (Ruin. Rapid concentration.)

27. War and the pillars of capitalism.

"Peaceful democracy", "culture", "the rule of law", etc., versus the horrors of war?

Untrue.

Private property and exchange. The guarantee of ruin for some, the guarantee and basis of violence.

28. Colonies and concessions.

"Honest concessionaire"?

"Humane" colonialist?

29. War=a terribly profitable thing=the direct and inevitable product of capitalism.

30. Harmful illusions can only hinder the struggle against capitalism.

COLLAPSE OF PACIFIST DREAMS

31. Capitalism without imperialism? (Shall we look back?)

32. Theoretically (in the abstract) it is possible even without colonies, etc.

33. Just as with a 4-hour working day, 3,000 workers minimum....

Ad 33: "Capitalism *can* develop *without* imperialism, without wars, without colonies, with full freedom of trade."

Is that true?

Capitalism *can* provide thousands of millions not for war, but in aid of the paupers and the workers, thereby perpetuating the domination of the capitalist class!

---

* Civil peace.—*Ed.*

** Holy Alliance.—*Ed.*

*** Surplus value.—*Ed.*

Theoretically identical propositions. "Compelling pressure of the working class and humanitarian measures of the bourgeoisie." The whole point is that such things can be compelled not by pressure *in general*; what is needed is *pressure* with the force of a real revolution. And the revolution and counter-revolution will sharpen the struggle to something more essential.

The question boils down to a struggle for reforms. This struggle is legitimate and necessary within definite limits, viz.:

(1) absence of a revolutionary situation; (2) partial character of the reforms, not to sharpen the struggle of classes to the point of revolution.

34. On account of what? On account of the horrors of war? (And what about the terrible profits?)

On account of pressure from the proletariat? (And what about the opportunists' betrayal?)

35. Peace without annexations, disarmament, etc., etc.

Objective meaning: *clerical consolations* ((Feuerbach: religion consoles. Is it useful?))

"Abolition of secret diplomacy"?

"Utopia or Hell"?

N.B. [The review of *Forel* in *Das Volksrecht*]

36. The struggle for reforms?
Yes.—Its limits.
Particulars.

An epoch of reforms, *the absence of a revolutionary situation*.

This is the crux.

RESULTS OF THE COLLAPSE OF ILLUSIONS

37. Revolutionary situations
(α) the lower orders won't, the upper classes can't
(β) growth of misery
(γ) extraordinary activity.

38. Slow and tortuous development.

Compare 1900 versus 1905.

39. Plunder by the capitalists and deception by the governments? "*Kriegssklaverei*"*

40. The war and the marvels of technique?

41. The war and regrouping (workers versus peasants)

42. Three mental attitudes
(α) despair and religion
(β) hatred of the enemy
(γ) hatred of capitalism, not only in general, but of *one's own* government and bourgeoisie.

43. The "Gaponade".[363]

44. Letter: "*Mundspitzen*"** ("*Kamarades*")

45. Every crisis breaks some and *hardens* others.

46. Hardens—*for* the socialist revolution (ΣΣ).

ΣΣ= Collapse of what is harmful, rotten in the labour movement= elimination of the obstacles to revolutionary battles.

PROFITS OF THE CAPITALISTS

By the way. The 10,000 million loan in Germany. The loan will yield 5 per cent. The government has so arranged things that the *savings* banks (for subscription to the loan) receive funds from the *loan* offices (*Darlehenskassen*), paying them 5.25 per cent. The loan offices get the money from the government! A swindle. *Das Volksrecht* (Zurich), of April 27, 1915.[364]

The absurdity of "amiable" utopias: without secret diplomacy—we proclaim the aims of the war—peace without annexations, etc., etc. Sentimental and reactionary rubbish.

The old nations (*respective*,*** the bourgeois states) *versus* "away with frontiers"!

---

* War slavery.—*Ed*.
** Get ready to whistle.—*Ed*.
*** Correspondingly.—*Ed*.

The experience of Russia: 1900 versus 1905.
Down with the autocracy (1900) and the "people"....
Revolutionary slogans and the growth of the revolutionary movement....

Written in the last days of April 1915

First published in January 1929 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolutsia* No. 1

Printed from the original

TO KARL RADEK

Werter Genosse,*

Our letters evidently crossed. At the same time that you were writing to me, I was writing (a postcard) to you and sending you the *Miscellany*.[365] I hope you have received it.

About a conference of the Left:

I have not been a member of the International Socialist Bureau *since 1912* (since 1912 Maximovich, in London, has been the C.C.'s member of the I.S.B.). But, of course, Grigory and I here will do everything necessary on behalf of the C.C.

You write that "*Grimm macht das* [behind the backs of the C.C.?] *ohne Absicht*"**[366]....

I wonder! *Es scheint mir wenig glaubhaft zu sein. Ist Grimm wirklich ein Kind? Nach zwei Konferenzen in Bern?****[367]

But you in Berne, of course, can see it more clearly, and I should be glad if it turned out that I was wrong and you were right.

And so, *if* Grimm *macht das ohne Absicht*, then the thing is simple: Grimm *must write* to the C.C. (the official address is printed in our C.O.—Bibliothèque russe. 7. Rue Hugo de Senger. 7. *Genève*. Für das Kom. Central****).

(Of course, it is also possible to write to my address; this will be more direct.)

---

* Dear Comrade.—*Ed.*

** Grimm is not doing this deliberately.—*Ed.*

*** I think this is highly unlikely. Is Grimm really a child? *After* two conferences in Berne?—*Ed.*

**** For the Central Committee.—*Ed.*

Unless he does this, Grimm will be acting *dishonestly* (for to write to Maximovich in *London* means losing time and risking the letter falling into the wrong hands: the police will intercept it!).

It is unbecoming for us to ask for an invitation: we don't want to force ourselves on them. We *cannot* do this!

Now on the substance of the question. You write: "*Da wird Grimm und vielleicht* [*?? sicher meines Erachtens!*] *auch andere die Sache so abwechseln* [*nur? richtiger: zertreten und verraten!*] *wollen, dass nur ein Aktionsprogramm* [*soll heissen: Ermattungsprogramm*, a programme of abandoning the struggle, a programme of discouraging the workers *from* revolution, a programme of *pacifying* the workers with Leftist phrases] *für die Stunde kommt.*"*

My opinion is that the "swing" by Kautsky+Bernstein +Co. (+500+1,000+??) is a swing of shit (=*Dreck*), who have sensed that the masses won't stand for it any longer, that it's "necessary" to make a turn to the left, in order to continue *swindling* the masses.[368]

This is clear.

Renaudel in *l'Humanité* is also "going left"!

These shit-heads will get together and say that they are "against the August 4 policy", that they are "for peace", "against annexations" and ... and ... thereby *will help* the bourgeoisie to damp down the incipient revolutionary mood.

I conclude from your letter that you share my views.

*Ergo***, our programme should be:

(1) to go if invited;

(2) to bring together *beforehand* the "Left", i.e., the supporters of *revolutionary action* against *their own* governments;

(3) to put before the Kautskian shit-heads *our* draft resolution (the Dutch[369]+ourselves+the Left Germans +0, and that won't be too bad, for *later* it will be not zero, but everyone!);

---

* In that case, Grimm and possibly (I think, surely) others as well will want to try and turn things in such a way (only? more likely: to suppress and betray!) that now only one programme of action (rather: a programme of exhaustion...) will be put forward.—*Ed.*

** Hence.—*Ed.*

(4) to put forward 2 or 3 speakers at the conference (if you *manage* to get there, this will be possible).

Would it be possible to get together *a few* German Left-wingers *against* Kautsky and Co., for a programme *of this kind*?

Write what you think of this programme. Its essence= against the stupid and treacherous slogan of peace.

Come and see us!

Yours,
Lenin

Is it not *clear* that the O.C. will side with Drehscheibe* Kautsky and Co.? *Eh*?

And are you sure that Grey+Bethmann-Hollweg have not "tipped the wink" to Südekum+Vandervelde: time to speak up *for* peace, chaps, or else there will be a revolution?

P.S. In our hotel (Hotel Marienthal) we have a *telephone* (No. 111). If you have anything urgent, ring up—at 8.30 a.m. we are *always* at home.

P.P.S. Please read the enclosed and send it on.

Written after June 19, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Berne

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIV*

Printed from the original

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* Turntable.—*Ed*.

TO KARL RADEK

Werter Genosse,

I enclose a letter about the *Vorkonferenz*.*[370]

Take a copy for *Lichtstrahlen*[371]—or get Wijnkoop (*if you are sure* that he is punctual) to send it on to them.

N.B. All this is *vertraulich*.** Promise not to speak about it, either to Grimm or to Balabanova or to Trotsky or to anyone else!

Read my letter to Wijnkoop and send it off.[372] I hope you have sent off the previous one! Let me know about this.

Either the German Left will now unite (if only for a statement of *principles* on behalf of an *anonymous Stern*[373] group, or whatever you like: the workers will later *join* this group), or we shall have to dismiss them from our minds.

(I understand that *Lichtstrahlen* cannot act directly. But why should not a *Stern* group, *consisting* of X+Y+Z, come forward with *resolutions* or a *manifesto*? And then privately and secretly distribute them?)

I don't understand how you *missed* the *Vorkonferenz* in Berne!? And you were the one who was exhorting me!?

Yours,
Lenin

P.S. Do you find reading Russian difficult? Do you understand *everything*?

---

* Preliminary conference.—*Ed.*
** Confidentially.—*Ed.*

P.S. Either send the Berne resolutions (the translation) direct to Wijnkoop (if you have a copy), or send them here: we shall make a copy.[374]

It would be extremely important for us to have a private consultation with some of the German Left. Could you organise this? By the way, why not come over here?

Written on July 15, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Berne

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIV*

Printed from the original

TO KARL RADEK

Dear Comrade Radek,

I have received your letter to Wijnkoop, and am sending it off by the first post. I am adding that work should be started right away, if the idea is to prepare a declaration (to say nothing of another *Communist Manifesto*).

We have provided (1) a manifesto; (2) resolutions; (3) a draft declaration.[375] So let us have your amendments or counterdrafts as soon as possible. Hurry! Or we shall be late!

I personally am against *Nashe Slovo* participating, but would not make this an ultimatum. Why am I against? (1) It is corruption, because *Nashe Slovo* has not *itself* declared that it is an *independent* or third (apart from the C.C. and O.C.) party or group for work in Russia; (2) There are *O.C. supporters* in *Nashe Slovo* in numbers unknown to the public. This is dual representation! (O.C.+*Nashe Slovo*). (3) *Nashe Slovo* is for the Chkheidze faction in the Duma (*and the O.C.* and Plekhanov+Alexinsky are also for it). Isn't that corruption?

Taking *Lichtstrahlen* as a *group*, and considering it more important than Zetkin's, is *not* funny.

This group includes Borchardt+Radek+contributors to *Lichtstrahlen*. That is enough.

This group has a little journal (while Zetkin and Co. haven't got one).

Borchardt was the first to say publicly: *Die Sozialdemokratie abgedankt*.*[376] That was not propaganda but a most important political act. *It was action*, and not promise.

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* The Social-Democrats *recanted*.—*Ed*.

The most important thing for us (i.e., all the Left) is a clear, complete, precise *Prinzipienerklärung*.* Without this all the so-called programmes of action are nothing but talk and deception. What did the Zetkin "resolution of action" in Berne come to? *Nothing* in terms of action! Nothing in terms of principle![377]

The Borchardt group, if it comes forward (together with us or separately) as an anonymous group (*Stern*, or *Pfeil*, or whatever) with a clear-cut *Prinzipienerklärung*+a call to *revolutionary* action, will play an outstanding part in world history.

Meanwhile, Zetkin and Co., having *everything* in their hands (newspapers, journals, connections with *Berner Tagwacht*, the opportunity of visiting Switzerland, etc.), have done *nothing* in 10 months to unite the international Left. This is a disgrace.

All the best,
Yours,
Lenin

P.S. I advise you not to enlist. It's stupid to help the enemy. You will be doing a service to the Scheidemanns. Better emigrate. Really, that will be better. There is now a desperate need of Left-wing workers.

"The opposition in Germany is the product of ferment among the masses, *whereas* the Bolsheviks represent the orientation of a little group of revolutionaries."

That is not the Marxist approach.

It is Kautskianism—or a dodge.

What was the 1847 *Communist Manifesto* and its group? The product of ferment among the masses? Or the orientation of a little group of revolutionaries? Or *both* the one *and* the other?

And what are we, the Central Committee? Or hasn't the R.S.D.L. Duma group proved that there are links with the masses? And what about the *Petrograd Proletarsky Golos*? Or is there *no* "ferment among the masses" in Russia?

The Left in Germany will make a historic mistake if, on the pretext that they (they=Zetkin, Laufenberg,

* Statement of principles.—*Ed*.

Borchardt; Thalheimer, Duncker! Ha, ha!) are "the product of ferment among the masses", they refuse to come forward with a *Prinzipienerklärung* (anonymously, on behalf of a *Stern* group, etc. Later the workers will *support* it and *think* about it).

There is need for a Left statement and programme *so as* to develop the "ferment among the masses". It is necessary *because* of such ferment. It is necessary *so as* to transform the "ferment" into a "movement". *It is necessary so as* to develop "ferment" in the rotten International.

And immediately!

You are quite, quite *wrong*!

P.S. You didn't say clearly in your letter to Wijnkoop whether it was set or proposed for August 20. Drop me *and Grigory* a line about this (if it is urgent).

Rakovsky (see his pamphlet)[378] is *for* defence of the fatherland. To my mind, we should part company with such people.

Written before August 4, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Berne

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIV*

Printed from the original

TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear V. K.,

I enclose the sheets of the pamphlet which were accidentally overlooked. Please check whether you have everything now. I wrote to you yesterday about the *reprints* coming up for the pamphlet.

What about No. 44?

Regards,

Yours,

Lenin

P.S. The attached footnote to the manifesto should go into the pamphlet. Insert it, please.

> *Footnote*. The demand for a United States of Europe, as put forward in the manifesto of the C.C., which supplemented it with a call for the overthrow of the monarchies of Russia, Austria and Germany, differs from the pacifist reading of this slogan by Kautsky and others. [To the paragraph in the manifesto of the C.C. (No. 33 of *Sotsial-Demokrat*) containing a reference to the United States of Europe.]

There is an editorial in No. 44 of our Party's Central organ, *Sotsial-Demokrat*, which shows that the "United States of Europe" slogan is economically wrong. Either this is an impossible slogan under capitalism, one signifying not only the giving up of colonies, but also the establishment of a balanced world economy, with the colonies, spheres of influence, etc., divided among the several countries. Or else it is a reactionary slogan, signifying a temporary alliance between the Great Powers of Europe to plunder the more rapidly developing Japan and America. (Note by the editorial board of *Sotsial-Demokrat*.)

Return the material as soon as possible!

Written before August 11, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Geneva

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

TO SOPHIA RAVICH

Dear Comrade Olga,

I am afraid to write to V. K., because "hurry-up" letters make his nervous illness even worse. But what is happening to No. 44? Or has the Kuzmikha woman turned definitely against us? I was in a terrible hurry to get No. 44 finished, had no time to correct the articles, didn't see the proofs—and there it is—stuck. And Kuzma was demanding the pamphlet by the *week before last*![379]

Drop me a line, please, whether there is any hope of issuing both 44 and the pamphlet. When will the one and the other be ready? There's need to add to and amend a few things in the pamphlet. It's essential to have proofs.

Greetings to V. K.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

P.S. How do you like *Peuple*? Solid *for* Vandervelde!

Written on August 16, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Geneva

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

TO SOPHIA RAVICH

Dear Comrade Olga,

Hurrah! You've beaten Kuzmikha herself! Well, you're really a heroine!

I enclose the proofs and *two* insertions for the pamphlet. Please make sure that they *are inserted in the right place*. (If there is any delay, don't send me the proofs of *these* insertions, but handle them yourself.)

I am writing to Grigory that I am publishing the pamphlet (he can phone me if there are any differences).

There should be *three* supplements at the end of the pamphlet:

I. The manifesto of the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. on the war (from No. *33*. I am enclosing it).

Insert footnote (on the United States slogan) which I *sent* you (and did you send a copy to Lyalin?).

II. The resolution from No. *40* which I am sending.[380]

III. The 19*13* resolution (the conference of the C.C. with Party workers) *on the national question*.[381] I haven't got it. I am asking them to send it to you from Berne. (But there *must* be one at your library.)

Print the pamphlet in 2,000 copies on the cheapest paper (if you have thin paper, then 1,000 copies on that), in the cheapest possible format, convenient for envelopes.

Salut,*

Yours,

Lenin

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* Regards.—*Ed*.

P.S. If you can do this without delay, send me a *second* copy of *all* proofs of the pamphlet (to send to a comrade who is leaving for Russia).

Written after August 16, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Geneva

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

TO ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI

Dear A. M.,

The *Vorkonferenz* (II) has been postponed until Sept. 5.[382] Höglund and the Left Norwegians (and what about the Danes?) *must* procure an invitation themselves. They *should send* their statements, requests and declarations *to us* (*for the C.C.*) in writing, signed and stamped, in one of the three international languages.

Very warm regards to Alexander (why is he *only* criticising my draft?[383] Let's have your amendments, *s'il vous plaît*!)—and to you for your successful work among the Left in Scandinavia.

Yours,
Lenin

I think it is hardly likely that the conference will materialise soon, if at all. However, let Höglund *prepare*, seriously and *urgently*.

But are they willing to have a joint manifesto with us on behalf of the Left in the various countries (independently of the conference)?

Written before August 19, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg
to Christiania (Oslo)

First published in 1924
in *Lenin Miscellany II*

Printed from the original

TO V. M. KASPAROV

Dear Kasparov,

There is to be a conference of the Left in Berne on Sept. 5.[384]

It would be *extremely* important to have our pamphlet in German appear *before* that date.[385]

Can you help in this?

—first, by calling on Radek, helping him to read the manuscript and inciting him to sit down and do the translation (unfortunately, we shall *not manage* to have the Russian proofs before then);

—second, by seeing to the contract with the German printing house (Radek knows what this is about);

—third, by calling on Kinkel, showing him this letter and *asking him to help with the translation* (to take on part of it).

I know that Kinkel almost hates me for my translation requests. But this is an emergency, the matter is important, we need urgent help, and maybe he won't be too angry.

Drop me a reply by postcard as quickly as you can.

All kinds of regards,

Yours,

Lenin

Written on August 19, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Berne

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIV*

Printed from the original

TO J. A. BERZIN

Dear Berzin,

Many thanks for the credential received.[386] Please, if you don't mind, send me *immediately* the same in French or in German, with a stamp on it, etc., in due form, and particularly with an addition in the text of the credential to the effect that not only has your party always been (and is) affiliated to the International Socialist Bureau (but has a delegate on it with a consultative vote). This is very urgent.

Best regards,
Yours,
V. Ulyanov

P.S. If you have received from us a manuscript draft of a brief declaration in Russian,[387] please pass it on to Litvinov as soon as you can, with a request to translate it into English and send it to me as soon as possible. Please send me a reply by postcard, so that I should know you have received this letter.

Written on August 20, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Berne

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIV*

Printed from the original

TO ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI

Dear A. M.,

It turns out that it is not the *Vorkonferenz* but the conference itself that is to take place on Sept. 5. So there is no time to lose.

You should strain every effort to try and send Höglund here, or the most Leftist and most reliable Norwegian, so that they should be here for certain not later than Sept. 3. (They should telephone me from Berne at Sörenberg, Hotel Marienthal (*Kanton Lüzern*), telephone *1.11*—(1.11)).

If it is *absolutely* impossible for any of them to come, let them at once (so that I should have it *for certain* on Sept. 2 or 3) send by registered letter either a transfer of credential to our C.C. (a formal credential, in German or French)—or (if they are not agreeable to handing over their credential) their statement that they are in solidarity with the C.C. + their *Prinzipienerklärung* + (without fail) a letter to the conference authorising our C.C. to read it out (*respective** put it to the vote, if possible).

The crux of the struggle will be, whether to proclaim, in the *Prinzipienerklärung*, a ruthless struggle (up to and including a split) against *opportunism* = social-chauvinism. Secure the *maximum possible* clarity and firmness of formulation on this very point.

Write me a postcard at once whether you have received this letter, and whether you hope (or are sure?) that such-and-such will be done.

(Regards to Alexander!)

Salut,
Yours,
Lenin

Written after August 19, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg
to Christiania

First published in 1924
in *Lenin Miscellany II*

Printed from the original

* Or.—*Ed.*

TO YELIZAVETA RIVLINA[388]

Dear Comrade,

I wrote to you the other day about Golay. Things are now going forward from the other side, so to speak. It is *not* a preliminary conference, but an international conference of the Left that has been set for Sept. 5. *Merrheim* will be there from Paris (all this is *entre nous*, of course). The *Nashe Slovo* people will attend. Why should not Golay and Maine be there as representatives of Left-wing socialism in French Switzerland (since Grimm, who is much more half-and-half than Naine and Golay, will be attending)?[389] Please, try and see both as soon as possible, have a good heart-to-heart talk with them, and drop me a line in reply, as soon as you can, about the frame of mind of both these Leftist Frenchmen. You realise, of course, that it is *anti-chauvinist Frenchmen* who would just *now*—especially in the presence of Merrheim—be of particular importance at the conference.

So, hurry with your reply!

Regards to Rivlin.

Yours,
Lenin

Written after August 19, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Lausanne

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIV*

Printed from the original

TO ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI

Dear Alexandra Mikhailovna,

It will be a great pity if your trip to America finally falls through. We pinned many hopes on this visit: for the publication in the U.S.A. of our booklet (*Socialism and War*, which you will receive in a few days), for connections with the publisher Charles H. Kerr[390] in Chicago in general, for mobilising the internationalists and lastly for the financial help which we so badly need for all those vital affairs *in Russia* of which you write (and justly emphasise their urgency, in view of the desirability of our coming closer to Russia. The obstacles there are *chiefly* financial, and also of a police nature; can one get there safely?).

If the question of a trip has been finally decided in the negative sense, try and think over whether you could (through connections with Charles H.. Kerr, etc.) help us to publish our booklet in English? This can be done *only* in America. We are *sending* you the German edition of our booklet. Do everything you can for its sale in the Scandinavian countries (it is terribly important for us to cover some of the expenses at least, otherwise we *cannot* publish it in French!).

Write *in greater detail*, more concretely and more frequently (if you are not going to America) about the practical questions arising in Russia, who is raising them, how, on what occasions and in what circumstances. All this is of extreme importance for the publication of leaflets—a *vital* question, as you rightly say. About the conference of the Left (where we rallied well as an opposition, although we did sign the manifesto) you will be partly informed by the

delegate *you* sent,[391] and partly we shall later tell you in writing.

(We are very short of cash! That is the *main* trouble!)

Best regards,

Yours,

Lenin

Written between September 8 and 13, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Christiania

First published in 1924 in *Lenin Miscellany II*

Printed from the original

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

I enclose Radek's letter. (I have sent him a sympathetic reply.) Let me have it back.

I shall be writing a report on the conference: please send me *all* your materials.[392]

Was it at your place that I left my *C.O. file*?

Regards,

Yours,

Lenin

It would be a good thing to have Inessa get down to translating the booklet into French.[393]

Written between September 11 and 15, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Hertenstein (Switzerland)

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIV*

Printed from the original

TO G. L. SHKLOVSKY

Dear G. L.,

Please send me as soon as you can three copies each of the German booklet[394] and the French resolutions.[395] (What is the bill? And is there any hope of cutting it down? Are you concluding a contract for the sale of the German booklet in Switzerland? Drop me a line.)

Please, send 10 copies of the German booklet and 2 sets of the French resolutions to the following address: Fru A. Kollontay. Turisthotel. Holmenkollen. *Kristiania*. Norwegen. (Let me know *when* they have been sent.)

Please hurry up Radek to send me a copy of the officially adopted manifesto.[396] It is very urgent. Call on Radek once or twice and get it done, please. You should also have a talk with him (and not only have a talk, but go about it in a *business-like* way, worry him, have it done, check it up) about the sale of the German booklet in Switzerland. You should get hold of the addresses of *German* workers' societies and clubs in various towns (including Geneva), find contacts, write and make sure something has been done. *All that is your job*. Please, go about it as vigorously as you can.

Regards,
Yours,
Lenin

Written on September 13, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Berne

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear V. A.,

I was away on business for a few days (and only for that period did I ask that everything should be sent to Geneva; now please send *everything* again—including the booklet—to Sörenberg).

On my arrival I found your letter about Rolland's articles.[397] I am terribly worried about your not having received them. I sent them to you *by letter post* two weeks ago, if not more. I have not had any cases before this of unregistered letters being lost in Switzerland. Could there be some mistake? Perhaps someone has received these articles in your *absence*? Write about this, please. If the answer is that there was, not, and could not have been any mistake, and if you do not have the articles, I will naturally do everything possible to get them for you (if I have lost them). I shall either buy this issue, or (if it has been sold out) get it from the library and *make a complete copy for you*. I am very sorry, and please write to me as soon as possible how matters stand. If you require a copy, *how soon*? Write *frankly*.

Regards,

Yours,

Lenin

For some reason I have stopped receiving *Zhizn*. Is there no exchange? Would you make an inquiry? And what about *Vperyod*[398]? What news is there of the O.C. miscellany[399] and the Bund publications? *Kommunist No. 1-2 has appeared.*[400] *This is a fact.*

Written on September 13, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Geneva

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

TO KARL RADEK

Dear Radek,

The letter to Wijnkoop has been sent.

Also the report with *your* letter to Grigory.

You probably have no *copy of our statement* (that we are dissatisfied with the manifesto, that it does not go far enough, etc.)? We handed it in to the Bureau, and Grimm read it out. We *must absolutely have a copy of this statement*. Would Grimm let you make a copy? If not, we're stuck!

P.S. And Grimm's "conspirative methods" too! The whole world already knows everything! And these stupid Italians in *Avanti!*. What a shame![401]

Yours,
Lenin

Written before September 18, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Berne
First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIV*
Printed from the original

TO KARL RADEK

Dear Radek,

Many thanks for the manifesto and report.[402]

(1) Could we have *gratis* 20 copies of this issue of *Berner Tagwacht*, to send to our Party groups?

(2) In the manifesto, the words "*revolutionary* proletarian class struggle" have been replaced by the word "*irreconcilable*". Is that *loyal* on Grimm's part?

(3) The report does *not* say that a part (one-tenth) of the *German* delegation (and one-third of the Swiss) signed our draft resolution.

Is that loyal on Grimm's part?

Your opinion, please: ought we not *officially* to write to Grimm about this?

(4) Does Grimm guarantee that in the *detailed* report (the minutes of the sessions) our draft and our statement will be included in full?

Yes or no?

(5) There are many inaccuracies in the report, and *not a word* about the voting (on our draft)!

The question of a split and of the dissolution of *this* Bureau (Grimm and Co.) was *not* voted on.[403]

We must do something.

Yours,

Lenin

P.S. Please, send me our draft and our statement.[404]

Grimm *does not say a word* about our booklet[405] (=report)! What a rogue!

Written before September 19, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Berne

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIV*

Printed from the original
in German

TO M. M. KHARITONOV

September 19, 1915

Dear Comrade,

I should like to give a lecture in Zurich about the middle of October on "The International Conference of September 5-8, 1915".[406] If the subject is suitable, and can yield even a small return, let me know. (I am also writing to Geneva about this; we must agree beforehand about the *dates*. I am asking them in Geneva to have posters printed for both occasions, leaving out the town and the date.) Let me know your opinion as soon as you can.

By the way. Will you send me Axelrod's German pamphlet on the tasks of international Social-Democracy,[407] which appeared in Zurich recently? I am curious to have a look at it.

(We shall publish a report on the conference in the C.O.— and then *Nashe Slovo* and the *Socialist-Revolutionaries*, etc., etc., will follow. But I shall deal with it in greater detail than in the press, and shall make an assessment and draw the conclusions.)

Best regards,

Yours,

Lenin

Sent from Sörenberg to Zurich

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIV*

Printed from the original

TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV

September 19

Dear Alexander,

We have received your letters telling us about the good working of the transport arrangements, and were extremely glad of them. As regards the literature at Vardö, try to get hold of and save *everything*: send us the files of *Proletary* and *Vperyod*; we can also make use of the pamphlets (the old ones, of 1905); it will be worth while sending them to Russia, now that there is a possibility of transport in general.[408]

Yesterday I read in the foreign press the news of the "dispersal" of the Duma. It is clear that the reactionaries are either frightened by the bloc of the Left, or are banking on some "military" chances (perhaps a separate peace?). Our attitude to the chauvinist revolutionaries (like Kerensky and part of the Social-Democrat liquidators or patriots) cannot, in my opinion, be expressed by the formula of "support". The gulf between the chauvinist revolutionaries (revolution for victory over Germany) and the proletarian internationalist revolutionaries (revolution to awaken the proletariat of other countries, to unite it in a general proletarian revolution) is too wide for there to be any question of support. We must *utilise* every protest (even a timid and muddled one, *à la* Gorky), we shall *utilise* the revolutionary work of the chauvinists too, and depending on the circumstances shall not reject "joint action" (in keeping with our Party's resolutions adopted in 1907, at the London Congress, and in 1913, at our conference),[409] but nothing beyond that. At the moment, in practice: we shall not issue joint appeals and manifestos with the revolutionary

patriots, we shall *avoid* Duma "blocs" with them, avoid "unity" with them when speaking at congresses, during demonstrations and the like. But *technical* mutual services, if the patriots go along, will probably be possible (as with the liberals before 1905), and we shall not reject them. Our relations must be *straightforward and clear-cut*: you want to overthrow tsarism for victory over Germany, we want to do so for the international revolution of the proletariat.

We have incredibly little information from Russia. It is simply a shame that such a comparatively simple business as conspirative correspondence with Russia (*fully* possible even in wartime) turns out to be so very badly organised. This is one of the most essential things. (I hope you have had a *detailed discussion* of this with *Nadezhda Konstantinovna* in your letters, and will do so yet as circumstantially as possible.) The most vital thing is to establish regular contact, to bring over from Russia at least two or three leading workers, if only to Sweden, for the most detailed talks and correspondence, in order to reach complete "harmony". I hope Belenin's visit will bring a marked improvement in this sphere. To do the round trip fast, to establish new connections, to collect the news—that is now the key to the whole of our work, and without it it's no use even looking to the future.[410]

We are thinking over a plan to publish manifestos and leaflets for transportation to Russia. We have not yet decided where they are to be published, here or in the Scandinavian countries. We should select the cheapest alternative, because the distance does not matter.*

With all my best wishes,

Yours,

Lenin

Written on September 19, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Stockholm

First published in 1924 in *Lenin Miscellany II*

Printed from the original

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* The last two sentences in the MS. have been struck out.—*Ed.*

TO KARL RADEK

Dear Radek,

Thanks for the bulletin.[411]

We shall discuss the money question with Grigory. We're hard up just now!

But the most important thing is: why are you silent about our (*your* final) *draft resolution*[412]? I *must* have it *at once* (and our statement on the voting for the manifesto)!

You should have a copy! Why don't you send it to me?

Or Grimm? Can he really be refusing to let you make a copy? *Please reply*.

Grimm's "*loyalty*" is only so much talk. He has deliberately failed to mention Borchardt—it's a disgrace.[413]

Regards,

Yours,

Lenin

Written after September 21, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Berne
First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIV*

Printed from the original in German

TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV

Dear Alexander,

It is a very good thing that you are undertaking to handle the leaflets.[414] We are drawing up a detailed plan for them, and will soon be sending it to you and to N. I. But you know it is still most desirable that N. I. should write the leaflets in two copies simultaneously (with a copying-pencil over carbon paper), and that you (or he himself) should send us the second copy at once. For leaflets are a *very* responsible thing, and the *most* difficult of all forms of literature. It is essential therefore to give them most careful thought, and to have collective consultations. In view of the slowness of setting up, printing and transport, the time lost on dispatch here will be relatively small, and, in any case, does not matter in comparison with the importance of well-thought-out appeals.

How do you plan to sign the leaflets? You have forgotten to write about this.

Kollontai's pamphlet has a good underlying idea. But the subject is exceptionally difficult; it is extremely hard to present it on this popular level. I think it needs correcting. I have already written to her about this, asking her to agree to these corrections.[415] If she does, things will go ahead very quickly, for I have already prepared a draft of the corrections.

As regards a visit to your country,[416] there is a hitch, first, because of lack of finance (the fare is high, and the cost of living there) and, second, because of the dubious police situation. We shall rather await Belenin's return and his news of home.

Every good wish,

Yours,

Lenin

Written after September 26, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Stockholm

First published in 1924 in *Lenin Miscellany II*

Printed from the original

TO G. L. SHKLOVSKY

Dear G. L.,

I simply cannot understand what's happening to Radek. I have asked him *repeatedly* for:

(1) a copy of our (i.e., the C.C.+Letts+P.S.D.+Swedes+Norwegians+Borchardt+Platten) *draft* resolution (in German)[417];

(2) a copy of our (the same groups') statement at the conference on the voting (why we, though not in agreement with the manifesto, vote *for*);

(3) a copy of our (the same groups+Roland-Holst) statement of protest against Ledebour's ultimatum.[418]

Radek does not reply!

And I *must* have them for the Central Organ.

Please, do call on him and find out what's wrong. (If Radek hasn't got them, can Grimm really *be refusing* to have *a copy made*? That would be the height of impudence!)

Regards,

Yours,

Lenin

Written at the end of September or the beginning of October 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Berne

First published in 1929 in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear Comrade,

I received the proofs today (the last ones, I think), and we are sending them off this very day. The instruction on the order of the articles has already been sent, so that I hope the double issue (price 20 centimes) will soon be out. Let me know when exactly.

I am sending this express for the following urgent reason: very important (and favourable) news has been received from Russia. We want to publish another (two-page) issue of the C.O. right away, to appear *really* at once. If, contrary to all expectations, it is *possible* to guarantee this time that Kuzma and Kuzmikha will honour their promise (i.e., will set about it at once, and bring it out without the *least* delay), telegraph: "*garanti*". If not (which is of course much more probable, because we know how unreliable Kuzma is in spite of your efforts), then telegraph (Seidenweg. 4a) "*non*".[419]

I shall write tomorrow about the lecture.

Salut,
Yours,
Lenin

Written on October 6, 1915
Sent from Berne to Geneva

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

TO ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI

November 22, 1915

Dear Alexandra Mikhailovna,

I failed to finish the letter I sent you today out of sheer absent-mindedness. This is the address: Mr. C. W. Fitzgerald, Secretary of the Socialist Propaganda League* 20. Baker Street. *Beverly. Mass.*

I was mistaken, therefore, when I said that he lives in Boston. But his sheet contains the addresses of all 18 members of the League, and among them some living in Boston. I hope you will make every effort to find out everything you can about them, and will try to build up out of them (either *including* them, or out of some of them) one of the rallying-points for the Zimmerwald Left in America.

Every good wish,

Yours,

Lenin

Sent from Berne to New York

First published in 1924 in *Lenin Miscellany II*

Printed from the original

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* See Note 435.—*Ed.*

TO V. A. KARPINSKY AND SOPHIA RAVICH

Dear Friends,

I am sending you leaflet No. 1.[420]

Help us to distribute it.

The address of the publisher is on the leaflet (rub it off after making a copy). Tell the Frenchmen, Guilbeaux and others, about it.

How is the Swiss referendum going? Is there any response (in Geneva) to the struggle between the opponents and supporters of "defence of the fatherland"?[421]

Best regards and wishes,

Yours,

Lenin

Written at the end of November or the beginning of December 1915
Sent from Berne to Geneva

First published in 1929 in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

TO SOPHIA RAVICH

Dear Comrade Olga,

Forgive me for writing on this scrap of paper.

It seems to me that you acted correctly. Indeed, unless there is a break with *Nashe Dyelo*, all the rest is deception. This is clearer than ever, now that the O.C. informers, in alliance with the reactionaries, have "won" in Petrograd (by rigging the election).[422]

Add to the resolution condemnation of the rigged *second* election.[423] And to the preamble, the impermissibility of taking part in "*defence*", once the war is of an imperialist, i.e., annexationist, i.e., plundering, i.e., oppressive, nature (in general, I advise drawing up the preamble as carefully as possible, *on the basis of Sotsial-Demokrat*, selecting the arguments from the relevant articles and resolutions of the Petrograd workers).

We shall pass on the letter to Inessa.

All the best, and regards to everyone.

Yours,
Lenin

P.S. One request: Inessa tells us that there is a girl in Geneva who used to live in *Arras*.* You know her. We are told that she has a good command of French. Will she undertake to translate from German into French (for Roland-Holst's magazine, published here with our participation[424])? Free of charge or for a fee? How much? Find out, please.

Written before December 16, 1915
Sent from Berne to Geneva

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

* The person referred to is not identified.—*Ed.*

1916

TO HENRIETTE ROLAND-HOLST

Dear Comrade,

Comrade Radek has just shown us Comrade Pannekoek's letter and the "Introduction".

This letter and the "Introduction" substantially *change* the previously adopted constitution of *Vorbote*.[425] It had been agreed that *Vorbote* would appear as the organ of *two* groups, namely, (1) the Roland-Holst and Trotsky group (or Roland-Holst and her friends without Trotsky, if Trotsky is unwilling to join); (2) the Zimmerwald Left group (whose bureau consists of three comrades: Radek, Lenin and Zinoviev). Comrade Pannekoek was appointed representative of the latter group.

Now the above-mentioned documents (the letter and the "Introduction") change the constitution: *Vorbote* appears as the organ of *two comrades*, Pannekoek and Roland-Holst.

If Comrades Pannekoek and Roland-Holst have decided to make this change, we take note of it. The owner of *Vorbote* had the full right to do so.

We do not refuse to co-operate in these new conditions, but must require certain guarantees. *Vorbote* appears for the first time as the organ of the Zimmerwald Left or "on the platform of the Zimmerwald Left". We were *elected* representatives of that Left by all the members of the Zimmerwald Left attending at Zimmerwald (except Platten). We think therefore—and in *this* respect we have all three come to a unanimous decision—that this guarantee is self-evident, and will undoubtedly be given by you.

The guarantee consists in this, that if there are any differences of principle among us, the article which ... by the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. (representative ...), the editorial board....*

Written after January 21, 1916
Sent from Berne
to Laren (Holland)

First published in 1924
in *Lenin Miscellany II*

Printed from the original
in German

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* The manuscript breaks off at this point.—*Ed.*

TO M. M. KHARITONOV

Dear Comrade,

I should very much like to go to Zurich for two or three weeks to work in the libraries on a piece of research.[426] My wife also. So far we have no papers, but hope soon to get them. The question is whether we shall be able to overcome the financial difficulties. I would very much ask you to reply frankly and *without exaggeration* to the following questions:

(1) What *net* income can there be (i.e., for me) from a lecture? Minimum and maximum? The subject: "Two Internationals": the growing division and rupture with the social-chauvinists throughout the world. Is it possible to increase the income by giving two lectures, and by how much?[427] (2) Will the local comrades help the two of us to get cheap accommodation? (3) How much will it cost to have a room (for two, even if with a single bed) *per week*? The cheapest, preferably in a worker's family? (4) Dinner in a canteen, if there is one (here we pay 65 centimes in a students' canteen)? (5) *Morgenkafee* and coffee in the evening, because, of course, we cannot do our own housekeeping in Zurich?

The cost of the journey will be $7 \times 4 = 28$ francs; extra expenditure on living in another town? That is the question. The room situation here is bad. Do you happen to know a worker's family which could reliably promise to put us up cheap?

I shall be very grateful for a frank reply, but without any wild promises.

Beste Grüsse,

Yours,

Lenin

P.S. Are there any cheap self-service food counters or the like, and what are the prices?

Written on January 27, 1916
Sent from Berne to Zurich

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

TO M. M. KHARITONOV

Dear Comrade,

I am very grateful for your speedy and detailed reply. We shall be there on February *4*. If you can, find us a room *for two*, *by the week*, not dearer than 1 franc a day; preferably in an *ordinary* working-class family (with a stove; it may still be cold).

If this is impossible, perhaps you will recommend a *cheap* hotel (1 franc a day, or even cheaper), where we could stay until we found a room ourselves. We shall agree on the date of the lecture, etc.

I hope to have a money order from you on Monday morning (keep a special account of the expenses: the *express* and the like, and postal expenses generally, etc., because we shall cover them ourselves).

Beste Grüsse,
Yours,
Lenin

Written on January 29, 1916
Sent from Berne to Zurich

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

TO MAXIM GORKY

For A. M. Gorky

Dear Alexei Maximovich,

I am sending you under registered cover my wife's booklet, *Public Education and Democracy*.[428]

The author has long been studying educational questions, over twenty years. The booklet is based both on her personal observations and on material about new educational developments in Europe and America. From the contents you will see that the first half also contains a sketch of the history of democratic views. This is also very important, because the views of the great democrats of the past are usually set forth wrongly, or from the wrong standpoint. I don't know whether you are able yourself to take time off to read it, or whether you are interested; §§ 2 and 12 could serve as an example. Changes in education in the latest, imperialist, epoch are sketched out on the basis of material of recent years, and shed some very interesting light on the question for the democrats in Russia.

You will do me a great favour by helping—directly or indirectly—to publish this booklet. The demand in Russia for literature in this sphere has now probably greatly increased.

Best regards and wishes,

V. Ulyanov

Wl. Uljanow. Seidenweg. 4a. *Bern*.

Written before February 8, 1916
Sent from Berne to Petrograd

First published in 1925
in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Printed from the original

TO SOPHIA RAVICH

Dear Comrade,

Here is our new address.[429] Send *everything* to it, please. We have taken the premises for a month. On Thursday (Feb. 17) I am giving the first lecture here ("Two Internationals"), and after a while, the second ("Conditions of Peace and the National Question", or something of that kind).

Please write and tell me when it will be possible to give a lecture (the first, or both?) in Geneva, and whether the cost can be covered. How much will it yield net, as a minimum? I have to know this, because I am very short of money, and I must calculate as carefully as possible whether I should travel from here (at greater expense) or later on from Berne (I can stay more than a month here, if I like it). I shall await detailed and authoritative instructions from you. Perhaps you would drop a line to Lausanne, too, to find out whether it is worth while going there for an evening?

Best wishes, and regards to V. K. and all our friends.

Yours,
V. U.

Nadya sends warm greetings.

Written on February 13, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Geneva

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

TO SOPHIA RAVICH

Dear Comrade,

Many thanks for the detailed information.

I am busy here on February 25 and 26.

So will you please fix the day for the lecture *yourself*, either before the 25th or after the 26th, and let me know beforehand?[430] I would also ask you very much to write to Lausanne, so that I could have done with the lot *in 2 days*, i.e., lecture in Lausanne either on the evening before Geneva, or on the day after Geneva.

I accept the subject: "'Conditions of Peace' (in quotation marks) and the National Question". So this is the agreed subject. All the best. Regards to V. K. and all our friends.

Yours,
Lenin

There is a convenient train: it arrives in Geneva at 9.*15 p.m.* Is it all right if I come by this train? If not, then can I lecture in Lausanne *the evening before*? Please!

Written on February 17, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Geneva

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear V. K.,

May I trouble you with the following request? I should like to have for my lecture the issue of the Paris *Golos* (*Nashe Slovo*'s predecessor) in which *Semkovsky* replied to me on the question of the self-determination of nations, and in one *footnote* (I remember that it was a footnote) dealt particularly with the *comparison* between the right of nations to secede and the *right of divorce*. I would return the issue as soon as you required it. If it is impossible to send it, could the footnote be copied out (it is not very long)? Perhaps you have in your library, or someone else in Geneva has, a file of *Golos*? I am lecturing here the day after tomorrow, Saturday. Consequently, if it cannot be sent so as to reach me on Saturday morning, it is not worth while sending it at all.

Regards and *au revoir*,

Yours,

Lenin

Written on February 24, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Geneva

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

TO SOPHIA RAVICH

Dear Comrade,

It is *impossible* to lecture at the club about the conference which took place, because this will mean publicity, something the organisers of the conference fear more than anything, and specially asked to avoid in every possible way.[431] Consequently, the subject must be changed. I haven't a clear idea of *who* will be present at the internationalist club,[432] and therefore find it difficult to choose a subject. I suggest the following: if it is essential to name the subject beforehand, choose some vague title ("Current Affairs" or "Urgent Problems of the Working-Class Movement", etc.), so that *everything* could be brought under it. Meanwhile I shall take advice in Geneva, and will prepare for the morning of the 2nd a *small* report or opening to a discussion.

Au revoir,
Yours,
Lenin

Written on February 27, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Geneva

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

TO Y. LARIN

For Y. Larin

Dear Comrade,

To my regret, the list of contributors, the indefinite nature of the miscellany, the restrictions imposed on the contributors, and the lack of information about some of them—all of this obliges me to decline to participate.[433]

With Social-Democratic greetings,

Lenin

Written on March 13, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Stockholm

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

TO ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI

March 19, 1916

Dear A. M.,

We have received your letter, and once again congratulate you on your success.

I was terribly irritated by the fact that "noble" France had (actually!) *confiscated* some of my registered letters to you in America. Well, we can't help that, can we? Now you must do *your very best* about contacts with America.

You did write me that while in America you received *Internationale Flugblätter* No. 1 in German, and that you would try to publish it in English![434] And now there's *not a word* about it?

What does it mean?!

Is that to say that no sympathisers are to be found in America and that *Internationale Flugblätter cannot* be published in English?

This is incredible!

But if that is so, it should be published in Norway (in English). Would you undertake to translate it, and how much will it cost to publish it?

I also wrote to you in America that I had received a Socialist Propaganda League[435] leaflet from Boston, Mass. (signed by 20 Socialists *with addresses*, mostly in Massachusetts). This league is internationalist, with a programme clearly tending to the left.

I sent them *the longest* letter[436] in English (and *Internationale Flugblätter* in German). There has been no reply. I wonder if "noble" France has confiscated the lot.

If you received *nothing* and know *nothing* about them, I shall send you their address and a copy of my letter. Will you undertake to send it on to America?

And what of the Socialist *Labour* Party? After all, they are internationalists (even if there is something narrowly sectarian about them). Have they got their copy of *Internationale Flugblätter*? Have you any contacts with *them*?

Furthermore, you also wrote that you had *started* negotiations with *Charles* H. Kerr. What's the result? He did promise to publish a *part* of our pamphlet (by Lenin and Zinoviev).

Now you say nothing more about it.... How are we to understand this?[437]

Internationale Korrespondenz[438] reported that the *New Review* in America had undertaken to publish articles by the Zimmerwald Left. Is that true? Do you know the *New Review*?

Reply as soon and as circumstantially as you can. You will, of course, find out *everything* in great detail about *direct* mail steamers from Norway to America.

As for Höglund and the Norwegians, *I am still* unable to find out whether or not they have received *Internationale Flugblätter*, whether or not they have published it in Swedish and Norwegian, whether or not they have *officially* affiliated to the Zimmerwald Left (like the Rev. Soc. *Verband* of Roland-Holst) Please take the trouble to find out, get things done, give them a piece of your mind, make them do it, follow it through! Let Bukharin inform you of the contents of our special letter to him about the Zimmerwald people, and please see that this is done.

Regards,

Yours,

Lenin

My address is: Herrn Uljanow (Schuhladen Kammerer). Spiegelgasse. 12. *Zürich*. I.

P.S. What interesting books and pamphlets have you brought along? Schlüter's history of Chartism? What else?

P.S. Am sending you our "theses" (from *Vorbote* No. 2). Drive this home to the Scandinavians.

Sent from Zurich to Christiania

First published in 1924 in *Lenin Miscellany II*

Printed from the original

TO ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI

Dear A. M.,

Thank you very much for your letter. I shall send you the address of the Socialist Propaganda League, unless I have left it behind in Berne: in that case I shall send it over from Berne (i.e., in 2 or 3 weeks' time).

Do you think *Appeal to Reason* would refuse to reprint *Internationale Flugblätter* No. 1? Is it worth trying?

Will the Socialist *Labour* Party agree to publish, if *we pay* the costs? Are these people hopeless sectarians or not? Have you any connections with them? Why *don't they send us* copies of their papers in the *Internationale Sozialistische Kommission*? (I saw some quite by chance.) Or are they maniacs with an *idée fixe* about a special "economic" organisation of workers?

You ask how desirable it is that the Norwegian party should send its official representative to the conference. Of course, it is 1,000 times better to have a class-conscious and intelligent *Left-winger* from among the youth, than a Right-winger or a ½-Kautskyite from the party.

That is clear. Use your influence on these lines, if you can.

I am very much distressed that we do not see eye to eye on self-determination. Let's try to argue this out in detail *without a squabble* (which someone is trying very hard to stir up for us on this score)[439].... *Entre nous*, perhaps Alexander will show you my reply to N. I. Bukharin's remarks (for the time being this discord must remain strictly confidential, but I trust to your discretion).

This question ("self-determination") is of the utmost importance. Besides, it is *organically* bound up with the question of *annexations*.

The best of everything,

Yours,

Lenin

P.S. I sent Alexander a great big letter a few days ago. Has he got it?

Written after March 19, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Christiania

First published in 1924 in *Lenin Miscellany II*

Printed from the original

INITIAL VARIANT OF R.S.D.L.P. C.C. PROPOSALS TO THE SECOND SOCIALIST CONFERENCE

PROPOSALS BY THE C.C. OF THE R.S.D.L.P. TO THE SECOND SOCIALIST CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE I.S.C. (BERNE)[440]

THESES ON ITEMS 5, 6, 7a, 7b AND 8 OF THE AGENDA

In announcing the convocation of the Second International Socialist Conference, the I.S.C. published the following major items of the agenda:

5. "The struggle to end the war"
6. "Problems of peace"
7a. Parliamentary "action" } "agitation and propaganda"
7b. Mass " }
8. International Socialist Bureau.

The I.S.C. has invited organisations to discuss these questions and send in their propositions. Here is the response of our Party's C.C. to the invitation:

1. In the same way as any war is only the continuation by means of force of the policy which the belligerent powers and the ruling classes in them carried on for long years or decades before the war, so peace ending any war can be nothing but an account and a record of the actual changes in strength achieved as a result of that war.

2. Hence, any talk of assessing a given war on the strength of the "simple" concepts of defence and attack, and of assessing the coming peace on the strength of "simple" high-minded wishes for a stable, democratic, honourable, etc., peace, is most absurd and thick-witted, from the standpoint of theory, from the standpoint of socialist doctrine, and is the greatest deception of the working class in practice.

3. The present war is an imperialist war, i.e., a war born of contradictions on the basis of highly developed, monopoly capitalism, which is ripe for transition to socialism. This war is being waged for world hegemony, i.e., for fresh oppression of the weak nations, for another division of the world, the division of colonies, spheres of influence, etc.—a division in which the old robber powers, Britain, France and Russia, would give up a share of their booty to Germany, a younger and stronger robber power.

4. Consequently, unless a revolution of the proletariat overthrows the present governments and present ruling classes of the belligerent "Great" Powers, *there is absolutely no possibility of any other kind* of peace, except a more or less brief armistice between the imperialist powers, a peace accompanied by a *strengthening* of reactionary forces within the states, an *intensification* of the national oppression and greater enslavement of the weak nations, a *growth* in the inflammable material preparing the way for new wars, etc., etc. For from the objective content of the policy engendered by the whole epoch of imperialism, the policy carried on by the bourgeoisie of *all* the warring "Great" Powers both before *this* war and *during it*, inevitably flows a peace based on a fresh and worse oppression of nations, etc.

5. To spread among the masses of the people ideas or hopes of the possibility of a stable or democratic, etc., peace between the present governments and the present ruling classes (i.e., the bourgeoisie in alliance with the landowners), as most of the official socialist parties are doing, is not only shamelessly to deceive the people, but also to blunt their vigilance and to distract them from the revolutionary struggle, which is already in effect beginning as a movement of strikes and demonstrations.

6. That is just the kind of deception of the people and distraction of the proletariat from the revolutionary struggle that is inherent in the "peace programme" now being "unanimously" put forward both by Huysmans, the Second International's official representative at the congress of the *Sozialdemokratische Arbeiter Partei* of Holland in Arnhem,[441] and by Kautsky, the most influential theoretician of the Second International and the most influential

defender of the social-patriots and social-chauvinists of all countries. Their programme is nothing but verbal and hypocritical recognition of a few democratic pious hopes: rejection of annexations and indemnities, self-determination of nations, democratisation of foreign policy, courts of arbitration to examine disputes between states, disarmament, United States of Europe, etc., etc.

7. The most obvious confirmation of the fact that this "peace programme" is sheer hypocrisy is, on the one hand, its verbal acceptance by a number of bourgeois pacifists and ministerial demagogues of the warring countries, and on the other, its repetition by notorious (*notorisch*) chauvinists at the conferences of the "socialists", first of one group of warring powers in London (February 1915) and then of the other in Vienna (April 1915).[442] It is the "socialists" who join bourgeois governments engaged in the predatory war, who voted the war credits and assisted the war by taking part in various organisations and institutions, etc., who *in practice* pursue a policy of defending old and new annexations, colonial oppression, etc., that now proclaim before the whole world their "peace programme", consisting of rejection of annexations and so forth.

8. The highest authority in the Second International, Kautsky, proclaimed to the whole world on May 21, 1915 (*Neue Zeit*) that the agreement and "unanimity" of "socialists" in London* and in Vienna, on the principle of the "independence" or self-determination of nations, proves the Second International's "unanimity" on, and "viability" in, its "peace programme".[443] This defence and sanction of the most crying and most brazen hypocrisy and deception of the workers is by no means an accident, but a systematic policy pursued in a number of countries by men who pretend to be "internationalists", but actually whitewash the imperialist war by applying to it the idea of "defence of the fatherland", and strengthen the domination of the labour movement by social-chauvinists, who have betrayed socialism, by preaching "unity" with them. This policy, which is most harmful and dangerous for the

* The MS. says erroneously "in Copenhagen".—*Ed.*

working class, is being carried on by Kautsky, Haase and others in Germany, Longuet, Pressemane and others in France, most of the leaders in Britain, Axelrod, Martov and Chkheidze and Co. in Russia, Trèves and others in Italy (see the threat of *Avanti!*, the Central Organ of the Italian Party, issued on March 5, 1916, to expose Trèves and other "reformist-possibilists" as having "set in motion every possible means to obstruct the action of the party leadership and Oddino Morgari towards the Zimmerwald organisation and the new International itself"[444]). This world-wide policy, which is most dangerous for the working class, may be called a *Kautskian* policy, after its most authoritative representative.

9. Socialists cannot renounce the struggle for reforms. They must vote, incidentally in parliaments as well, for any, even minor, improvements in the condition of the masses, such as higher aids to the inhabitants of devastated areas, relaxation of national oppression, etc. But on the basis of the *present* war and the peace which follows *from it*, such reformist activity for the improvement of the people's condition is obviously possible only in miniature proportions. It would be a crying deception of the masses to suggest to them, directly or indirectly, that a reformist solution of the problems raised by the *present* war is possible. For *this* war has brought about a revolutionary situation in Europe by making an issue of the *most fundamental* problems of imperialism, which must needs be solved the imperialist way unless the present governments and ruling classes of Europe happen to be overthrown the revolutionary way. Therefore, the main and basic task in the struggle for a stable and democratic peace on the part of socialists should be: first, explanation to the masses of the need of *revolutionary mass struggle*, systematic propaganda of such struggle and the creation of an appropriate organisation; second, exposure of the *lies* and *hypocrisy* both of bourgeois-pacifist and socialist, particularly Kautskian, talk about peace and the "unanimity" of the Second International on the "peace programme". Such phrases are doubly hypocritical when coming from "socialists" who echo the bourgeoisie in denying any possibility of transforming the present imperialist war

into a civil war for socialism, and who oppose any revolutionary activity in this direction.

10. The central point of the prevailing hypocrisy about a "peace programme" is the allegedly unanimous acceptance of struggle against *old* and *new annexations*. But those who talk about annexations and the struggle against them are unable, or for the most part unwilling, to think about *the meaning of annexation*. It is clear that not every attachment of "foreign" territory can be called annexation, since socialists, generally speaking, are in favour of eliminating frontiers between nations, the coming together and integration of nations, and the formation of larger states. It is clear that not every infringement of the *status quo* can be considered annexation: this would be a most reactionary attitude, and a mockery of the fundamental conceptions of historical science. It is clear that not every attachment by force, that is, war, can be considered annexation, since socialists cannot object to force if it is applied in the interests of the mass of the population and the interests of mankind's progress. It is clear that only the attachment of territory *against the will* of its population can and must be deemed annexation. In other words, the concept of annexation is organically bound up with the concept of *self-determination of nations*.

11. It is precisely on the basis of the *present* war, because of the fact that it is imperialist on the part of *both* groups of warring "Great" Powers, that there was bound to develop, and actually did develop, the phenomenon of the bourgeoisie and social-chauvinists intensively "*fighting*" against "annexations", *if* they have been carried out, or are being carried out, by an *enemy* state. Südekum and his Austro-German friends and defenders, including Haase and Kautsky, are silent about the annexations carried out by Germany in respect of Alsace-Lorraine, Denmark, Poland, etc., but very often "fight against annexations" carried out by Russia in respect of Finland, Poland, Ukraine, the Caucasus, etc., by Britain in respect of India, and so forth. On the other side, the British, French, Italian and Russian Südekums, i.e., Hyndman, Guesde, Vandervelde, Renaudel, Trèves, Plekhanov, Axelrod, Chkheidze and Co., are silent about Britain's annexations in respect of India, France's

in respect of Nice or Morocco, Italy's in respect of Tripoli or Albania, Russia's in respect of Poland, Ukraine, etc., but then *largely* "fight against annexations" carried out by Germany.

It is clear that such "struggle against annexations" on the part of the social-chauvinists and Kautskyites is hypocritical through and through, and the bourgeoisie is assisting such struggle directly, by allocating millions upon millions for chauvinist propaganda, and indirectly, by granting a monopoly of legality only to the social-chauvinists and the Kautskyites.

It is clear that both the French "socialists" who justify a war for Alsace-Lorraine, and the German "socialists" who refuse to demand freedom for Alsace-Lorraine to secede from Germany, are equally annexationists, for all their swearing to the contrary. It is clear that Russian "socialists" who speak or write against the "break-up of Russia", or, behind the "peace without annexations" slogan, justify, directly or indirectly, the present war over who is to enslave Poland, are just as much annexationists, and so on and so forth.

12. If socialists are not to transform "the struggle against annexations" into an empty phrase or into revolting hypocrisy, they should, *first*, explain to the masses the need for revolutionary struggle for the conquest of political power by the proletariat and a socialist revolution which springs from all the conditions of the imperialist epoch and the present imperialist war, and which alone can firmly and everywhere ensure the self-determination of nations, i.e., liberate oppressed nations and effect the, coming together and integration of nations, not on the basis of force but on the basis of the equal rights and consent of the proletariat and working people of all nations; *secondly*, immediately mount the widest propaganda and agitation against the veiled chauvinism and annexationism of the official socialist parties, especially in the "Great" Powers. Socialists should explain to the masses that the English socialist who does not struggle now for freedom of secession for Ireland, India, etc., is a socialist and internationalist only in words, and a chauvinist and annexationist in practice. The same applies to the French socialist who does not fight for the freedom of the French colonies, against

the war to annex Alsace-Lorraine, etc.; the German socialist who does not fight for freedom of secession for Alsace-Lorraine, the Danes, the Poles, the Belgians, the Serbs and others; the Russian socialist who does not fight for freedom of secession for the Ukraine, Finland, etc., and against war over Poland; the Italian socialist who does not fight for freedom of secession for Tripoli, Albania, etc.; the Dutch socialist who does not fight for freedom of secession and independence for the Dutch East Indies; the Polish socialist who does not fight for full freedom and equality for the Jews and the Ukrainians oppressed by the Poles, and so on.

13. It inevitably follows from the Zimmerwald manifesto and the I.S.C. circular of Feb. 10, 1916 (Bulletin No. 3)[445] that all "war on war" and "struggle for peace" are *hypocrisy* unless they are indissolubly bound up with immediate *revolutionary mass struggle*, and with its propaganda and preparation. But this conclusion must be set forth straightforwardly and definitely. There is need, first, to explain to the masses what the development of the revolutionary mass struggle in the conditions of a European war can and *must* (*muss*) lead to. It leads inevitably to the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war for socialism. This is *hinted at* by all the speeches about it being better for the workers to die for their own cause, rather than for someone else's. But a hint is insufficient. The masses should have clearly put before them the great, even though maybe not very immediate, aim. They should know what direction to take and why. Second, if we call on the masses to fight their governments "regardless of the military position of a given country", we thereby not only reject in principle the admissibility of "defence of the fatherland" in the *present* war, but recognise the *desirability* of defeat of any *bourgeois* government, in order to transform the defeat into a revolution. And this must be said straightforwardly: revolutionary mass struggle cannot become international unless its class-conscious representatives openly unite for the purpose of defeating and overthrowing *all* bourgeois governments. Third—and this is most important—it is *impossible* to carry on a revolutionary mass struggle without creating everywhere, not

only at the top but also in the midst of the masses, an illegal organisation for its propaganda, preparation and discussion of its course and conditions. If there have been street demonstrations in Germany, if there have been many letters from the front calling on the people *not* to subscribe to the war loan in France, if there have been mass strikes in Britain, to say nothing of Russia, then in order to aid this struggle, to unify it on an international scale, it is unquestionably necessary to report *every* step along this road in a *free*, *i.e.*, *illegal*, press, analysing the successes, assessing their conditions, and building up and developing the struggle. Without an illegal organisation and an illegal press the acceptance of "mass action" will remain an empty phrase (as is the case in Switzerland).*

14. On the question of the socialists' parliamentary struggle (*Aktion*), it should be borne in mind that the Zimmerwald resolution not only expresses its sympathy with the five Social-Democratic deputies of the Duma, who belong to our Party, and who have been sentenced to exile in Siberia, but also proclaims its *solidarity* with their tactics. It is impossible to recognise the revolutionary struggle of the masses and put up with the *purely* legal, *purely* reformist activity of socialists in parliaments; this leads only to legitimate dissatisfaction among the workers, and their leaving the S.D. ranks for anti-parliamentary anarchism or syndicalism. It is essential to say clearly and publicly that Social-Democrats in parliaments must use their position *not only* to make parliamentary speeches, but also to give all-round *extra-parliamentary* assistance to the illegal organisation and revolutionary struggle of the workers, and that the *masses* themselves must, through their illegal organisation, *check up* on such activity by their leaders.

15. The question of convening the International Socialist Bureau, included in the agenda of the coming Second International Socialist Conference, unavoidably raises the more fundamental question of principle, namely, whether the unity of the old parties and of the Second International is possible. The wider the sympathy among the masses

* Paragraphs 12 and 13 are crossed out in the MS.—*Ed.*

for the Zimmerwald organisation, the less understandable for the masses and the more harmful for the development of their struggle is the inconsistency and timidity of the attitude which in essence identifies the old parties and the Second International with bourgeois policy in the working-class movement (see the Zimmerwald manifesto and I.S.C. circular of Feb. 10, 1916), while fearing a split with them, and promising to dissolve the I.S.C. directly the old International Socialist Bureau reassembles.

This promise *was not* voted upon, and was not even discussed at Zimmerwald.

During the six months since Zimmerwald, it has become even clearer that a split is inevitable, that the work recommended by the Zimmerwald manifesto cannot be carried on in unity with the old parties, and that the fear of a split hampers every step on that way. In Germany it is not only the *Internationale Sozialisten Deutschlands* group that has condemned the fear of a split, and has openly come out against the hypocrisy of those who preach unity; Otto Rühle, a *member* of the *Reichstagsfraktion* and a close associate of Karl Liebknecht, has openly declared for a split. And *Vorwärts* has failed to find a single serious or honest argument against Rühle. In France, Bourderon, a member of the Socialist Party, is against a split in words, but has actually tabled in the Congress a resolution which directly "*désapprouve* [disapproves] of the C.A.P. [*Comité Administratif Permanent* = Party Executive] and the G.P." (*Groupe Parlementaire* = parliamentary group). The adoption of such a resolution would clearly mean an immediate and unquestionable split in the party. In Britain, T. Russel Williams, even writing in the moderate *Labour Leader*, has openly and repeatedly declared the inevitability of a split, and has met with support from some members of his party. In America, with formal unity in the Socialist Party, some of its members declare for militarism and war (so-called preparedness), and others, among them Eugene Debs, the one-time Socialist candidate for the Presidency, openly preach civil war for socialism *in connection* with the looming war.

There *is* already an actual split throughout the world, and closing their eyes to this only tends to harm the

Zimmerwaldists, making them ridiculous in the eyes of the masses, who know perfectly well that each step in *their work* in the spirit of Zimmerwald means a continuation and widening of the split.

It takes courage openly to recognise what is inevitable and what has taken place, to abandon the harmful illusions about unity being possible with the "defenders of the fatherland" in the present war, to help the masses to be rid of the influence of those leaders who are "misleading them" (see the I.S.C. circular of Feb. 10, 1916) or paving the way for a plot (*Pakt*) *against* socialism via an "amnesty".

That is our proposal on the item of the agenda for the calling of the International Socialist Bureau at The Hague.

* * *

Reformist talk is the main means for deceiving the people at a time when the objective situation has placed on the agenda of history the greatest world crisis, which, regardless of the will of the several parties, can be either evaded or put off until the next imperialist war, or resolved through a socialist revolution. It is neither an accident nor the ill will of the several governments or capitalists of some country but the whole evolution of bourgeois relations that has led to imperialism and the present imperialist war. Nor is it an accident or the result of some demagogy or agitation but the objective conditions of the wartime crisis and the aggravation of class contradictions that are now giving rise to the strikes, demonstrations and similar other manifestations of mass revolutionary struggle in a number of belligerent countries.

Objectively the question appears in this way—and in no other: either to help this still weak but internally powerful and deep ferment and movement of the masses, which is potentially capable of developing into a socialist revolution; *or* to conduct a policy of assisting the bourgeois governments (*Durchhaltspolitik*, *politique jusquauboutiste**). The real meaning of the sugary talk about a democratic peace is nothing but *assistance* to the governments through the hypocritical dulling and duping of the masses.

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* Carrying on the war to a victorious end.—*Ed.*

* * *

This war has raised the fundamental questions of imperialism, that is, the questions of the very existence of capitalist society, and it would be quackery to suggest to the people—directly or indirectly—that any reformist solution of these problems is possible. What is involved here is a fresh division of the world in accordance with the new balance of forces between the capitalist states, which over the last few decades have been developing not only at exceptional speed but—and this is especially important—extremely unevenly. On the basis of capitalist social relations this redivision of the world is inconceivable except through force and war. The objective state of things rules out any reformist solution for the mature contradictions; it rules out any other way out except a series of imperialist wars or a socialist revolution of the proletariat, for whose success the imperialist epoch itself has already created the conditions. Real political activity in these conditions is possible only as one of two things: assistance to "one's own" national bourgeoisie in plundering other countries, or assistance to the incipient....*

Written in late February and March 1916

First published in *Pravda* No. 255, November 6-7, 1927

Printed from the original

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* Here the MS. breaks off.—*Ed.*

TO ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI

Dear A. M.,

I have only just learned from Alexander's letter to Grigory of the sad fate of our friends in the town from which Alexander has come.[446]

I hope you will make use of all your connections, and do everything possible and impossible to extricate them and help them in every way.

I have decided not to write to Branting, because my recommendation at present in *all* respects—you will appreciate—may do harm. Probably it will be best of all for you to get things moving through your Norwegian friends. Cable, if you need anything else.

(In case of necessity, perhaps the appeal could go through Denmark? It would also be valid through the German Social-Democratic deputies but for the fact that the Right-wingers are very angry with you. Now if you could try through the *non*-Rightist German Social-Democrats....)

I am surprised that Alexander has received only one letter from me. I sent three: the second to the town from which Alexander has come (addressed to the "Secretary of the Party" at the People's House—telephone there, if possible); the third went to his present address. I hope he's got the third letter by now. I am expecting him to write, for he has been somewhat niggardly about writing. Best regards to him from me and N. K. To you too.

Yours,
Lenin

Written on April 4, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Christiania

First published in 1924
in *Lenin Miscellany II*

Printed from the original

TO ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI

Dear A. M.,

You know, of course, that Huysmans is calling the neutrals together for June 26.[447] We must try to have one of "our men" attend from the Scandinavian countries, and we ought to think out his line thoroughly. Please, write as soon as you can whether there is any hope of this (so that we should have time to exchange letters).

Do you read the German Social-Democratic papers? The Braunschweig *Volksfreund* gave a good answer to Huysmans,[448] while the Chemnitz *Volksstimme*, which is an organ of the Right, said it was *in complete agreement* with Huysmans's criticism of the Zimmerwaldists.[449]

Is there any hope of the sentence on Höglund being quashed? This is unheard-of, incredible ferocity![450]

All the best,
Yours,
Lenin

Best regards to Nik. Ivanovich, from whom there was a telegram but no letter. I wish him with all my heart an early rest and quick recovery. How are his finances?

P.S. Isn't 75 kronen too much for the pamphlet in English?[451] Perhaps we should wait?

Written between April 19 and May 7, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Christiania

First published in 1924 in *Lenin Miscellany II*

Printed from the original

TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV

Dear Alexander,

The conference is over, its manifesto has been published (May 1).[452] I hope you receive *Berner Tagwacht*—or some other Swiss paper? If not, drop us a line, and we shall send you the French text.

Grigory is preparing a circumstantial letter about the conference, and this will be sent to you.

After all, a manifesto was adopted: that is a step forward, *because* it was accepted by the French deputies (three, one of them the semi-chauvinist Brizon).[453] A resolution criticising pacifism, and a resolution on the International Socialist Bureau, sharply criticising it, were adopted. On the whole, this is *none the less*, despite the mass of defects, a step towards a break with the social-patriots.

This time the Left was stronger: a Serb, three Swiss and a Frenchman (not a deputy; *not* from any group, but on his own) reinforced our Left. Then there were two Germans (from the *Internationale* group)[454] who supported us on the main questions.

Have you seen the Huysmans manifesto? It contains an unmistakable malicious "hint" about us! The Braunschweig *Volksfreund* gave him a good answer.

As regards the Japanese,[455] we have decided to make another, and, I hope, final, attempt to reach agreement: (1) all the old agreements (verbal) are cancelled; (2) an agreement between the Central Organ's editorial board, which edits the issue, and the *publishers* to be concluded from issue to issue, i.e., for each issue separately; (3) No. 3 to be published at Berne (clearly it is impossible at Stockholm).

Try and see whether it will come off or not. If not, we shall publish *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata*. We can't wait.[456]

Here is the plan for No. 3:

1) Material from Russia (up to 3 sheets).
2) Theses of the Central Organ's editorial board on self-determination.
3) Lenin's article on the same subject.
4) The 2nd Zimmerwald Conference. Grigory Zinoviev or Lenin.
5) Bukharin: an economic subject.
6) Lyalin on the high cost of living.
7) Alexander—from Russia.
8) A Serb and an Italian have promised articles.
9) Russian themes—Grigory Zinoviev.
10) Radek—continuation (? hardly worth while. In my opinion, no).*
10) Kollontai—from America.
11) A Lett.
12) Varin.
13) The women's labour movement.
14) Book reviews.
15) About Trotsky, Martov and the Chkheidze group....

Think it over, *probe the ground*, get the facts, as tactfully as possible, and reply as soon as you can.[457]

All the best, and wishes for every success.

Yours,
Lenin

P.S. As Nadya has already written, I agree with you on the Jewish miscellany.[458] Nadya has repeatedly written to Berne for the material. Regards to Alexandra Mikhailovna!

Yours,
Lenin

Written between May 6 and 13, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Christiania

First published in 1924 in *Lenin Miscellany II*

Printed from the original

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* This point is crossed out in the MS. Lenin had in view a continuation of the Radek article, "A Quarter of a Century of Development of Imperialism", carried in No. 1-2 of *Kommunist*.—*Ed*.

TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear V. K.,

As we agreed, I intend to visit Geneva and Lausanne for a lecture, "Two Streams in the International Labour Movement" (you said that this title was better than "Two Internationals", which I used here).

If conditions have not changed, and my trip will pay for itself, please fig the date for a fortnight ahead (*at Lausanne the day after*).[459]

I shall be awaiting your reply.

I need to work a day or so at the Geneva Public Library. Could you find out whether by any chance it will be closed on any day, apart from the holidays?

Salutations,

Yours,

Lenin

Written on May 17, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Geneva

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV

For Alexander

May 23, 1916

Dear Friend,

I have only just received from Grigory your letter to him of May 19.

You write that "the correspondence and negotiations with *Kommunist* have become a terrible bore". I quite understand you, but do have patience! You can't, after all, once you have set about negotiating, have attacks of nerves and fall into despair. That's not the proletarian way, really and truly.

You put two questions: (1) to co-opt two more (C.O. supporters) to the editorial board; (2) to start a Discussion Section in *Kommunist*.

On the first point you write: "From conversations with them I realise that they have nothing against it, though of course it grieves them."

I began thinking about your plan. I think that to take on non-writers (particularly after all our sad experiments) would be an absolute iniquity, something we could not justify before the Party. We could, perhaps, find one writer (I have one in my mind; I must find out more about him, and think it over again and again, before saying yes or no). It's much harder getting another one.

Could you modify your plan, to make it workable, in this way: either the C.O. editorial board co-opts two *Party writers*, if they are available (then there will be seven); or, if it manages to find only one, the publishers (the Kievskys, he and she) delegate one of their number to the

editorial board (then there will be five: Bukharin + a publisher + three here)?

(I personally would find the latter particularly suitable, because (a) it would obviate the need to *invent* editors; (b) it would not reduce the "rights" of the publishers, because it is all the same to have one to one or two to two; (c) it would create an editorial board of writers, which is extremely important in a Party sense, to combat the striving abroad for editorial positions.)

Think it over and reply (if not inconvenient, probe the ground among the publishers).

As regards the Discussion Section, your plan is debatable, if it is implemented in a practical way and if one little thing, which you could not have known of, is eliminated.

In a practical way means laying down precisely who has the *right* to have a discussion article inserted. All members of the editorial board. That is unquestionable. Is it sufficient? I think it is. The editorial board will consist of five or seven persons.

The "one little thing" is this. A discussion within the Party. Undoubtedly. Well, but what about inflaming differences or opening doors for *groups abroad* which are not in the Party? This is the point. The publishers made *Kommunist* impossible, because they did not want any discussion, they did not write or prepare anything at all for discussion—but played on Radek's striving to crawl through the cracks of our Party from outside. Radek and the *Nashe Slovo* people, and many others among the groups abroad, are simply straining, *in the guise* of discussion, to bring about divisions amongst us, to blow up discontents, and hamper our work (an old game of exiles abroad!).

You may not know that Radek pushed us out of the *Vorbote* editorial board. It was initially agreed that there would be a joint editorial board composed of two groups: (1) the Dutch (maybe + Trotsky) and (2) us (i.e., Radek, *Grigory and me*). This condition gave us equal rights on the editorial board.

Radek intrigued for months, and got the "missus" (Roland-Holst) to *cancel* this plan. We were demoted to the position of contributors. It's a fact!

Is it proper to reward Radek for this feat by giving him the *right* to "discuss", and the publishers, the *right* to hide behind Radek? That will be not discussion, but dissension and intrigue. (1) *Gazeta Robotnicza* (February 1916), in which Radek participates, carried some purely factional attacks on us, and a resolution on *Nashe Slovo* lines. (2) Now on the question of assessing the Irish insurrection (a most important question, is it not? Not abstract "theory"!) *both* Radek[460] *and* Kulisher (the Cadet in *Rech*)[461] are in *full agreement*, stupidly calling it a "putsch".

This is incredible, but it's a fact!

If, in the guise of "discussion", the publishers want to provide a platform for all the groups abroad wishing to fight our Party without joining it, that is *not* discussion, it is a game.

If they don't want this, why not lay down precisely, for example, that the *right* to open discussions is restricted (1) to members of the editorial board; (2) to the Party organisations in Russia; (3) to the C.O.A.,[462] being the organisation of the Party outside Russia?

Kommunist was an *alliance* with the Dutch and Radek. This alliance has been *changed* by the fact that we were downgraded in the Dutch-Radek journal from editors to contributors. So don't cherish any harmful illusions about the alliance remaining the same! These are harmful illusions! We have to go forward ourselves, *not allowing* our hands to be tied. *Not in any way*.

The practical conclusion: think over (and I will think it over and write to Grigory about it) the following §§:

1) the composition of the editorial board is changed: 5 or 7 (see above);

2) another title is chosen (*Sbornik* or the like);

3) explicit rules of discussion (e.g., in the spirit of ⎫);

4) Switzerland to be the place of publication (for some reason you don't mention this point. Why?);

5) the income is divided in *such-and-such a way*. Will the publishers agree to provide ½ for the cost of transport

and of maintenance for the organiser of contacts, etc., i.e., yourself?

Reply!

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

Thousands of best wishes, and *don't let your nerves go*. Chiefs have no right to have fits of nerves!

Sent from Zurich to Christiania

First published in 1929 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolutsia* No. 7

Printed from the original

TO ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI

Dear A. M.,

I was very glad to have your news and information.[463] We shall have to be patient about America: it's worth while publishing *only* over there.

I hope you will do everything possible to consolidate matters as regards the Left Swedes and Norwegians. So far nothing has yet been fixed. Not a thing! There is only talk. There is neither formal affiliation with the Left, nor proper relations with us, not a single thing. And this after the Höglund affair! I can't understand these people!

As regards the meeting of the neutrals at The Hague on June 26, I have this plan: it is clear that the phlegmatic Norwegians will be *unable* to do a thing without a knowledge of foreign languages. Why don't you go *as well*?[464]

Why could not the C.C. of the Norwegian Party appoint X *plus* you? X is essential, as a local man, while you are a *plus*. Even if as an interpreter. You would be exceptionally useful, because then you would get to know *everything*. I am certain that, otherwise, we *won't* even get a full, precise, clear and accurate *report* of what has taken place (and the workers of the whole world will *not* get one either). Think about this. And do everything possible for it.

All the best,

Yours,

Lenin

P.S. I haven't read the Rybalka pamphlet[465]: too busy. Tell me: did the stupid S.R. pamphlets *weaken* the significance of the revolutionary struggle of the S.R. peasants?

Did the provocateur Gapon *weaken* the significance of the revolutionary struggle of the Gapon workers? They call the Irish insurrection a "putsch" (have you seen K. Radek in *Berner Tagwacht*?)—and you *put up* with this!? I don't understand you. I absolutely do not understand. If anything, this in particular has proved the indecent pedantry and stupid doctrinaire approach of K. Radek in *Berner Tagwacht* and those "of like mind with him".

If your journey is *impossible*, could you, at any rate, get the C.C. of the Norwegian Party to pass a decision to the effect that the delegate should *carefully* and *on the spot* make a note of *everything* that takes place?

Written after May 28, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Christiania

First published in 1924
in *Lenin Miscellany II*

Printed from the original

TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV

For Comrade Alexander

Dear Alexander,

Of course we shall give Belenin 300 kronen, if he has already so firmly decided on his plan for a trip. It will be a pity if he goes. In any case, you must do *everything* to ensure his return in a few months.

As regards the "Japanese", you shouldn't think that they have made "considerable concessions" in the draft you have sent on. They haven't made any at all! On the contrary, the demand that the *two* should have the right to haul in dissenting contributors is an *innovation*, an addition, a *surenchère*. And this innovation clearly exposes their "policy" in the worst sense of the word. If the founders, the publishers, the young contributors want freedom of opinion *for themselves*—freedom of discussion—that is legitimate. But if people, *behind* this legitimate desire, try to smuggle in "discussion" which is *not their own*, but that of "contributors", isn't it clear that this is a game?

Never has there been anything like this anywhere. If the *two* want publicity for all kinds of intrigues abroad—let them go ahead, *and let them be responsible for it*. I *cannot participate* in this either directly or indirectly.

You will ask, perhaps, where is the proof that it is a question of intrigues abroad? I wrote to you about this *long ago*, and you have not replied a single time. The proof is the issue of *Gazeta Robotnicza* (February 19*16*), from which we have Radek and Bronski as "contributors".

That is a fact.

These gentlemen were the first in the Zimmerwald Left to start an *intrigue*—and at what a time! They want to "play off" Chkheidze and Trotsky.

At such a moment the *two* publishers do not blush to propose to *us* that *we* should give them "freedom and a guarantee" of discussion for such contributors! This is either madness, or the height of impudence.

And equal representation with them (6=3+3), is that not the same thing? Why, they once gave you to understand (and you wrote this *yourself*) that they would accept the co-opting of *two*, *supporters* of the C.O. But when it came to having a written agreement, they beat a retreat. Isn't that the game of petty hucksters?

If people are in agreement, sincerely and in principle, to have a journal or a miscellany *support* the Programme of the Party, then the majority must be for it. Otherwise there is no sincerity, no principle, only "the purse strings".

My view is, explain all this to them clearly, in popular language, if necessary in writing, and give them an ultimatum: either this way (7=4+3), or you send in your conclusion about their "game" to the Bureau.[466] That will be the correct Party reply.

All the best,
Yours,
Lenin

Written late in May 1916
Sent from Zurich to Christiania
First published in 1929
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolutsia* No. 7
Printed from the original

TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV

Dear Alexander,

I wrote to you briefly yesterday. Today I want to have a further talk.

I am revolted by the "conditions" laid down by the Japanese. That two editors should have the right to decide on inserting an article written for discussion purposes by a contributor! Not even three, but only two: in other words, the publishers "depend" on no one but themselves.[467]

The meaning of this clause is clear: they want to hide behind Radek and *inflame* our differences with him and with the P.S.D.[468] This is not discussion, but the height of intrigue, the utmost cravenness. It's just as it was in Paris in 1911, when we were "dragged" into a discussion with Rappoport, or Lyova, or Viktoryonok, or Bogdanov! I have written to you that the Polish *Gazeta Robotnicza* (*February 1916*) is attacking us just like those Parisians did then.

In no circumstances will I join an editorial board which is intriguing in this way, under the guise of discussion. If you, Japanese, want to help to disorganise our Party, do it on *your own* responsibility. Your purse is full. Go ahead and publish the "discussion" by Radek or *Gazeta Robotnicza*: then the *Russian* workers will see at once that you are intriguers, and will kick you out. But you want to *play* this mean trick *under cover* of a "collective board". Sorry, but I won't accept this and will expose you. That is my reply to the Japanese on this question.

The same goes for "equal rights" (the elimination of the seventh member, or voting on him).[469] This is a continuation of the old "game". What has Party membership got to do with it? The point is that we are to give "equal rights"

to people who have shown themselves in the *negative*! Why should we? Equal rights = the right to spoil the work! In the name of what? For what purpose? To make dissension *permanent*?

No. If they want to make a *new* experiment, we shall take a *new* journal, or more precisely *miscellany*, and *try* (the old confidence has been undermined) to issue one with an editorial board of seven. We shall make the *experiment*: this is the maximum concession which I can conscientiously allow. If the experiment fails, the intriguers and the capitalists lose nothing, because the "purse" can always be withdrawn. And we shall then issue our own miscellany. One that is simple, clear and without intrigue.

I wish you all the best, and ask you to be patient.

Yours,
Lenin

Written after June 4, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Christiania

First published in 1929
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolutsia* No. 7

Printed from the original

TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV

June 17, 1916

Dear Friend,

Nadezhda Konstantinovna is writing to you about other matters, but I will reply to your P.S. to me.

You write that "our people have no evil intentions", and you add that for the Kievskys "it's a matter of the national question alone, and that they write the articles themselves".

If that were the case, why then have a paragraph in the Rules about the right of discussion for *contributors* on the demand of two (note: not even three, but two, i.e., distrust of Bukharin on the part of the Japanese)? In that event, this paragraph would have no meaning. And it is a thing without precedent for two editors out of six or seven to demand "freedom" of discussion (alleged discussion) not for themselves, but for contributors.

No. The Japanese woman *cannot* insert meaningless paragraphs into the Rules. The meaning of this paragraph is just this, and only this, that *our* hands are being tied, and we find ourselves helpless against the striving of the Poles to start an intrigue.

You write that you have not seen *Gazeta Robotnicza* (*you should have been sent it*, and also the *C.O.A. resolution* adopted with the participation of Grigory: I am writing to him and Zina at once, to have them send it to you immediately). You say, moreover, that for this reason "you don't know what it's all about".

But you add there and then, for some reason: "I know, I feel, that you have cooled off towards Radek and Co."

You will agree that this is somewhat strange. After all,

my apprehension about intrigue on the part of Radek and Co., my *conviction* that this is so, springs directly from the *facts* concerning *Vorbote* (I wrote to you about it).[470] That is the first point. And the second, and most important, is that it springs from *Gazeta Robotnicza*.

It is in that paper that Radek and Co. *began* an intrigue against us, when we had nowhere written a single line against them![471] After all, this is a fact. You can't brush facts aside. The old "game" (the word used in the C.O.A. resolution) of playing up our split with Chkheidze and Co. began in *Gazeta Robotnicza*, and is *Tyszka*'s old, long familiar game.[472]

So what are we to do? Either we allow this game not only to grow unhindered, but to *seep through to our journal*. This is what the paragraph in the Japanese woman's draft Rules leads to! And it would mean a hopeless and final war against Radek and Co.

You write, *as though* against me, that "it is not to our advantage to quarrel with the Zimmerwald Left".

I reply: if we are *not* to have a final quarrel with *Radek and Co*. (and through them with others as well, should things go badly), we *must*, for that very purpose, make this kind of "game" and intrigue impossible in our journal.

That is just why I refuse to go along with the discussing "contributors", and refuse to join *Kommunist*.

It's one of two things: if we agree to restore *Kommunist*, it would mean opening the door to the *development* of that intrigue; it would mean us opening the door to it. This would be a mad policy, I am sure. Does the Japanese woman understand all its implications? I don't know, but that isn't very important: the "mechanics" of relations abroad would itself lead to such a result, regardless of the malice or angelic goodness and purity of the Japanese woman's intentions.

The other prospect: *not* to revive *Kommunist*. To issue *another* miscellany. Give the editors the right of discussion. Analyse the national question. *Beat off Gazeta Robotnicza's game and intrigue*.

Radek or his friends attacked us in *Gazeta Robotnicza*. We replied in *our* miscellany,[473] only in ours, please note, *not in one published in common with the Zimmerwald Left of other countries*.

That's where it ends.

The Zimmerwald Left, whom *Radek tried without success* to drag into a quarrel with us at Kienthal (in talks with Platten and others, he wanted to deprive us of equality in the main commission of the Left *but the Left wouldn't let him do* it)—these Zimmerwald Left have *nothing to do* with the struggle between *Gazeta Robotnicza* and *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata*.

The Zimmerwald Left cannot intervene in *this* struggle, they cannot take offence and complain: Radek and Co. were the *first* to attack in *Gazeta Robotnicza*, and they have had their reply in *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata* (or in some other miscellany). *In such a situation*, no efforts by Radek and Co. can conceivably bring about a quarrel between ourselves and the Zimmerwald Left (just as at Kienthal Radek *failed* to set us at loggerheads, either with Platten or with the German Left, though he did try to).

While Radek and Co. reply to us in the next issue of *Gazeta Robotnicza*, and we to them in *another* miscellany (I insist absolutely on agreements from miscellany to miscellany), quite a lot of time will go by.

And during all that time, if *that* is the approach, Radek and Co.'s dirty trick in *Gazeta Robotnicza will not be able* to set us at loggerheads with the Left.

That is why I have said, and still say, that I will not on any account now either join *Kommunist*, or accept equal rights with the Japanese woman, or membership at all *jointly* with Radek in our own miscellany, because I am convinced that *this* will make inevitable a quarrel with the Left.

If we issue *Kommunist* No. 3, then Radek *and* Bronski *and* Pannekoek (and the general public) will have the right to expect, and will expect, *a continuation of the same thing*; they will have the right to expect, and will expect, all possible guarantees for contributors; they will have the right, finally (and this is particularly important), to take offence and intervene if we reply *there* to *Gazeta Robotnicza*'s dirty tricks. This throws the gates wide open to intrigue.

In that event, Radek and Co. will *surely* bring about a quarrel between us and the Left, because even Pannekoek will have the most sacred right to say: it *wasn't* that kind of *Kommunist* that I agreed to join, I *don't* want

"attacks" on *Gazeta Robotnicza* (he will depict defence as attack: you know how that's done).

In that case, Radek and Co. will have the right to issue any letter to the general public, both in Russian *and in German*; they will have the right to say: *Kommunist* was in practice (this is a fact) the common organ of yourselves+Pannekoek+Radek+Bronski, while you *use* it to "offend" *Gazeta Robotnicza*, *you are beginning* to split the Left, and so on and so forth (as he had *already* been saying at Kienthal, note that: he had *already* used this strategy at Kienthal).

And in the eyes of the whole Left, the blame falls on us! We allowed ourselves to be drawn into a quarrel with the Left, we fell into the Tyszka trap. That is where continuing the *Kommunist* leads to; that is why I refuse to go in.

Whereas on the contrary, I repeat, if—in a separate, *new* miscellany, *without* Pannekoek, Radek, Bronski—we *reply* to *Gazeta Robotnicza*, reply to Bukharin and anyone else, *this is absolutely no concern of the Zimmerwald Left*, and they *cannot* either interfere or take offence. Radek *cannot* "complain" either to Pannekoek or to the Germans that *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata* has *replied* to *Gazeta Robotnicza*.

And then, in addition, there is also the question of defeatism. *The same applies*.

And then there is also the question of the Chkheidze group. *The same applies*. For *that* is what *Gazeta Robotnicza* was playing on.

If the Japanese woman has no "evil intentions", she *cannot* reject an agreement on one miscellany (*without* Radek and the others), when we provide for a discussion *with the Japanese and Bukharin*. We are agreeable likewise to have it in a separate pamphlet (if Bukharin wants it, for he will then be able *in advance* to look at my "tone", about which he has expressed fears). It will then be possible to separate the arguments with Bukharin from the joint work with Bukharin.

My articles and Grigory's about defeatism, self-determination, *Gazeta Robotnicza*'s dirty tricks, Chkheidze, "self-defence", etc., your articles about the "War Industries Committees", etc., Varin's and Safarov's (*we mustn't* have foreigners in this miscellany), etc., and *whatever they please* from Bukharin and the Japanese.

There is the plan for an agreement on one miscellany.

The Japanese woman cannot refuse, unless she has evil intentions.

One cannot insist on *Kommunist*, if it has fallen to pieces; it is absurd and ridiculous to drag me by force into *Kommunist*; they won't succeed.

But if the Japanese woman won't have an agreement on a separate miscellany, *that means* she has evil intentions or (which is all the same for the cause) her policy *leads* to an evil intrigue.

And then we publish *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata alone*.

All the best,

Yours,

Lenin

Sent from Zurich to Christiania

First published in 1929 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolutsia* No. 7

Printed from the original

TO SOPHIA RAVICH

Dear Comrade Olga,

Inessa very badly needs a passport.[474] We beg you to take the enclosed letter to Guilbeaux (directeur de *Demain*, 28 rue du Marché, visitors on Fridays 2-4; perhaps it would be better to ask him for an interview by postcard).

Of course don't tell either him, *or anyone else*, *who* the passport is for.

It is better to see Guilbeaux personally: we have thought it over from every angle, and have decided that it would be better than writing to him. I hope this request will not give you or V. K. too much trouble.

Have you at your library the book by *Yu. Delevsky* (I think that's his name?): *Class Contradictions within the Modern Proletariat*, or *something like that*?[475]

If it's not at your library, perhaps you know someone who has it (and, by the way, do you happen to know the exact title of the book?).

Best greetings to you both,

Yours,

Lenin

Nadya sends her regards.

Written on June 27, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Geneva

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

TO ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI

July 25, 1916

Dear A. M.,

I was long in answering your letter because, owing to Nadya's illness, we'd had to move into the mountains. I quite agree with you that the role of Left-winger at the conference with Huysmans will, in the main, be one of collecting information.[476] This is more important than anything else. The most important thing is to make notes *on the spot*, and about everything. Collect each and every kind of document; and do not forget for a single minute the need for *full* information. The only way is to write down everything (even if briefly) at once, on the spot, in a special notebook. Grimm is not going: they didn't give him a passport. That means there is to be only one Left-winger. This makes his responsibility all the greater. It will take great resolution and full political clarity to carry on the line alone: you are the best judge of whether these qualities are there. If they are, it would be a good thing to "put" a couple of questions to the vote: approve Zimmerwald; ditto Kienthal; condemn the social-patriots, Hyndman and Co., Sembat and Co., Legien and Co., Plekhanov and Co. The same thing can also be done in the form of questions. It'll be up to you to decide whether this can be done.

Please drop me a couple of words about the receipt of this postcard.

Alexander must have taken all the addresses with him, and will try and find out whether anything has been printed in America about the Zimmerwald Left and get it, and contact the Socialist Propaganda League, the Socialist Labour Party, *International Socialist Review* and *Appeal to*

Reason. If you get this postcard and reply, we may perhaps have time to write each other about what precisely it is convenient to ask him to do there.

One personal request: have you any publishing connections? I have none. By way of earnings, I should like to have either a *translation*, or an article on *education* for Nadya (her illness requires a *prolonged* stay in the mountains, and that is expensive).

Best greetings and good wishes. Nadya sends her regards.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

Sent from Flums (Switzerland)
to Christiania

First published in 1924
in *Lenin Miscellany II*

Printed from the original

TO ZINAIDA LILINA

Dear Zina,

I read in *Berner Tagwacht* and heard that your lecture at Olten was a *great* success. *Ich gratuliere!** Perhaps you could write a *brief* summary of the main points for our *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata*, if you were going to write on the same subject? We are in a terribly difficult situation: we failed to calculate beforehand the exact size of the articles, we have "swollen up" out of all proportion, we have not been able to "unload", and are now faced with the prospect of a great big volume, which is least convenient for propaganda from abroad.

Drop me a few words about your subject, and about whether you could, *without detriment to the subject*, confine yourself to 4-5 pages of our large size (you have it in the proofs, and you will probably not find it too hard to calculate precisely).

Write.

Beste Grüsse, especially to Styopka, who must have grown so that I won't be able to toss him up to the ceiling!

Written after July 27, 1916
Sent from Zurich
to Hertenstein (Switzerland)

First published in 1929
in the journal *Krasnaya Letopis* No. 4

Printed from the original

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* Congratulations.—*Ed.*

TO G. L. SHKLOVSKY

Dear G. L.,

I don't know whether you are in Berne. Please let me know directly you get this letter.

1) I have a request to you: I need to dispatch a manuscript in bindings: 100 *sheets* (not pages but sheets) *just like* this one (destination, same as Grigory's).[477]

Please order *two* books of *suitable* format: you will get the manuscript in 5-6 days. *I am in a terrible hurry with the dispatch* (I have lost my own copy!) and therefore would very much ask you to hurry, and if you can't do it, to reply as soon as possible, so that I could look for someone else through whom to arrange it.

2) Why do you say nothing about my papers? If you can't manage anything (or if it's inconvenient), do not hesitate to let me know. It isn't worth while going to a lot of trouble over it!

3) Did you get a printed copy of the "paper" on the Ts. case[478] from Moor? *This is essential. Don't forget!* We must get hold of it at all costs, or he may lose it, the scoundrel!

4) Why has there not been a money report for a long time? Or has there been such a windfall that you can't add it up?

Greetings to all, from Lyuda on.

Yours,
Lenin

P.S. Please send us the POW letters,[479] *after you are through*: we must keep track of their state of mind, demands, opinions, etc.

Written on August 5, 1916
Sent from Flums to Berne

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

TO G. L. SHKLOVSKY

Dear G. L.,

I was very glad to have news from you. And thank you for the POW letters. Your work *is a success*, congratulations!

Please send the cash to *Tribune*, and *ask* them not to send the paper any more! It's of no use! Besides, I never ordered it.

Regards to the whole family,

Yours,

Lenin

Written late in August 1916
Sent from Flums to Berne

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

TO G. Y. BELENKY

Dear Grisha,

And so the misunderstanding has been cleared up. It's not worth talking about it any more. It *isn't* worth while publishing in Paris under the censorship. If the possibility of publishing without censorship definitely arises, then write, in as much detail as you can.

We agree to a (provisional) editorial board for publishing leaflets in Paris: Varin+Domov+1 from the Paris group.[480]

The papers say that there is to be a conference of the Entente socialists at the Palais Bourbon on Dec. 24, 1916. Find out whether this is so. We shall send a leaflet from the Central Committee, and you make as thorough preparations as possible for publishing and distributing it in that event.

Many thanks for all you are sending us. Send and write as much as you can.

Yours,
Lenin

Written on October 26, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Paris

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

ON THE AMENDMENT TO BEBEL'S RESOLUTION AT THE STUTTGART CONGRESS[481]

I remember very well that the final drafting of this amendment was preceded by prolonged negotiations directly between ourselves and Bebel. The first draft made a much more straightforward statement about revolutionary agitation and revolutionary action. We showed it to Bebel; he replied: I don't accept it, because then the Public Prosecutor will dissolve our party organisations, and we can't have that, as there are no serious developments as yet. After consultation with legal specialists and numerous redraftings of the text in order to give legal expression to the same idea, a final formula was found which Bebel agreed to accept.

N. Lenin

Written in December 1916

Published in December 1916 in *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata* No. 2
Signed: *N. Lenin*

Printed from the original

TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear Comrades,

I have to give a lecture here on the Ninth of January, 1905, but I have no material.[482] Please help me to find:

1) *Mysl* for 1910 (?)-1911
   V. Ilyin's articles on strikes in Russia.[483]
2) *Diskussionny Listok* of the C.O. of the R.S.D.L.P. for 1910-1911 (?), my article on revolution and counter-revolution in Russia, with a summary of strike statistics.[484]
3) Trotzky: *Russland in der Revolution.*
4) Gorn, Mech, Cherevanin and others,
   collections (legal) for 1906-07 (?). The social movement in Russia, or something like that. One issue about *the peasantry.*[485]
   (Agrarian question)
5) Maslov, Vol. II. The peasant movement in 1905-06.[486]
6) *The Social Movement in Russia.* The five-volume collection of Potresov and Co.
7) *Moscow in 1905*[487]
   and other 1905-06 pamphlets. *Anything you have.*

Please send what you have, or mark off on this note what there is and what can be sent over.

Regards,
Yours,
Lenin

P.S. I sent Guilbeaux my theses on work among the Left in the Swiss Social-Democratic Party, and asked him to send them on to you.[488] Pass them on also to Noah and Stepko.

Written on December 20, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Geneva

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

1917

UNIDENTIFIED ADDRESSEE

Today, Nobs and Münzenberg told me the following facts which are not without significance.

On Jan. 7, Münzenberg proposed that the congress should be postponed *to March* (clearly wishing by this proposition to expose the hypocrisy of the arguments used by Grimm+ the social-patriots). It was defeated.[489]

Greulich proposed postponement *until May*. Nobs stated that he was in favour (once again choosing the lesser evil and exposing the same crowd). When Nobs said that he was *for*, Greulich (what a character!) immediately *withdrew* his proposition (having seen his mistake). Then Naine declared that *he* was moving Greulich's proposal. *It was defeated*.

Münzenberg proposed that the cantonal committees (to whom the matter has now been referred) should be allowed time until July. It was defeated!

These facts show up Grimm's unprecedented impudence, when he says in his article (*Berner Tagwacht* of Jan. 8 or 9, *Parteibeschlüsse*)[490] that the Left wing, too, were "in principle" *not* against postponement!

Münzenberg has written an article for *Volksrecht* (Nobs has promised to insert it tomorrow or the day after) against the decision of the *Partei-Vorstand*.*[491]

After reading this, send it on to Olga, for her to send to Abramovich.

Written at Zurich
on January 11 or 12, 1917

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

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* Party executive.—*Ed.*

TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear Friend,

I enclose a resolution. Please read it and pass it on to Guilbeaux and to the German group.

This resolution (it was voted *here* by a meeting of the Left)[492] must be got through all possible organisations; and, if it is adopted even by a *small party* organisation, it should be sent *officially* both to the local party committee and to the Central Executive (*Geschäftsleitung der sozialistischen Partei. Zürich. Volkshaus*), with a demand that it be published.

I am terribly angry with Guilbeaux—tell him this—for *failing to return* to me the draft statement against Grimm[493] (has he shown it to you? He must!).

If he doesn't want to sign it, let him send it back *at once*.

Best regards,
Yours,
Lenin

Written on January 19, 1917
Sent from Zurich to Geneva

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

TO SOPHIA RAVICH

Dear Comrade Olga,

Many thanks for your letter on affairs in your local party. You are not alone, to tell the truth, in having bouts of "pessimism".[494] The party here is opportunist through and through, a benevolent society for petty-bourgeois officials.

Even the alleged Left leaders (like Nobs and Platten) are no use *at all*: the said two in particular.[495] You can't do anything without access to the masses. But while taking care not to entertain excessive hopes, we should not fall into pessimism either: this is an important moment, and if we helped *ever so little* (a couple of leaflets or the' like), that would also be *something*. Even that *will not be lost* quite without trace.

I am very glad that you have the intention to help in every possible way in the distribution of the leaflet.[496] Please, don't forget to destroy *all* our correspondence.

When is your cantonal congress of the Socialist Party? I sent a draft resolution to Abramovich. Has he sent it on to you? Do you know anything (apart from what was in *Volksrecht*) about the congress of the Zurich party at Töss?[497]

Who reported on the Olten meeting on Feb. 1?[498] Only Guilbeaux and Co.? They got the jitters, you know! They failed to understand the task, and got scared!

I cannot lecture in French.

Every good wish of success. Regards to Vyacheslav Alexeyevich.

Yours,
Lenin

And how are things with the referendum? How many signatures? Are they still collecting them?[499]

Written on February 12, 1917
Sent from Zurich to Geneva

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Martov's plan is a good one[500]: it's *necessary* to work for it, but *we* (and you) cannot do this directly. *We* shall be open to suspicion. It's necessary that, in addition to Martov, non-Party Russians and patriotic Russians should approach Swiss Ministers (and influential people, lawyers, etc., something that can be done in Geneva as well) requesting them to *have a talk* about it with the German Government's Ambassador at Berne. We cannot take part, either directly or indirectly; our participation will *spoil* it all. But the plan, in itself, is a *very* good one and is *very* right.

Written after March 19, 1917
Sent from Zurich to Geneva

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

TELEGRAM TO J. S. HANECKI

Fürstenberg, Boulevard-Hotel, Christiania

Cable to *Pravda*, appending return address. Have just read extracts from the Central Committee manifesto[501] Very best wishes! Long live the proletarian militia paving the way for peace and socialism!

Ulyanov

Written after March 23, 1917
Sent from Zurich
to Christiania

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original
in German

PLAN FOR A LECTURE, "THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, ITS SIGNIFICANCE AND ITS TASKS", DELIVERED AT ZURICH[502]

1. Die erste Etappe der ersten Revolution.
2. Nicht die letzte Revolution, nicht die letzte Etappe.
3. In drei Tagen Sturz der monarchischen Regierung, die Jahrhunderte gedauert und schwere Kämpfe 1905-07 erlebt hat?
4. Wunder.*

PART I

1. "The world has changed in three days."
2. "A miracle."
3. How could it be overthrown in 8 days?
   Four main conditions:
4. —(I)——The revolution of 1905-07.
(((Ploughed up the soil; showed up *all* classes and parties; stripped and isolated *Nicholas II* and *Co*. (Rasputin).
5. — —(II)——Collaboration of *three* forces in this revolution:
   — —(α) Anglo-French finance capital.
6. — —(β) the whole bourgeoisie and the capitalist landowning class of Russia (and the top sections of the army).
7. — — —(γ) the revolutionary proletariat and the revolutionary section of the army, of the soldiers.

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* 1. The first stage of the first revolution.
2. Not the last revolution, not the last stage.
3. The overthrow, in three days, of the monarchist government, which had been in power for centuries, and had survived the fierce battles of 1905-07.
4. A miracle.—*Ed*.

8. Three forces now:
—(αα) the tsarist monarchy; relics of the dynasty (counter-revolution in the South).
9. —(ββ) the new government and the bourgeoisie.
10. —(γγ) *The Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. Peace, bread, liberty*=
11. =The three main demands
12. ||
13. || The new government cannot meet them....
14. *Three lines* in the Soviet of Workers' Deputies:
15. The resolution on *Kerensky*,[503] etc.
16. Chkheidze's waverings.
17. The R.S.D.L.P. C.C. line. *The C.C. manifesto*

PART II

18. What is to be done? Which way do we go, and how? Towards the Commune? Demonstrate this.
19. Analysis of the situation. Rapid change of situations (*the day before yesterday*—the greatest *illegality*. The call to revolutionary struggle. The struggle against *social-chauvinism*;
(*yesterday*—the maximum of revolutionary heroism in combat;
(*today—transition, organisation....*
(*tomorrow*—combat again.
20. *Organisation*—the main issue of the day
Which? The Party? The trade unions? etc.
21. *The Soviet of Workers' Deputies. Quid est** Thesis No. 4[504]
22. Our "*state*".
23. The Paris Commune.... Its essence.
24. The teachings of Marx and Engels on the transitional type of state[505]:
25. Proletarian *militia*. What kind....
26. —*They* need it
27. — —and *we* do

"Don't let them revive the police"

* What is.—*Ed.*

28. Revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry....
29. Peace? *How* (Gorky?)
30. —Our conditions of peace
(Thesis No. 11 in No. 47).[506]
31. A step (transition) to socialism.
32. Long live the Russian, long live the incipient world-wide proletarian revolution!

Written not later than March 27, 1917

First published in 1955 in the journal *Istorichesky Arkhiv* No. 2

Printed from the original

TELEGRAM TO J. S. HANECKI

Berlin variant is unacceptable to me. Either the Swiss Government obtains a carriage up to Copenhagen,* or the Russian Government reaches agreement on the exchange of all émigrés for interned Germans.

Written on March 28, 1917
Sent from Zurich to Stockholm

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original
in German

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* "Up to Copenhagen" inserted by N. K. Krupskaya.—*Ed.*

TELEGRAM TO J. S. HANECKI

Your plan is unacceptable. Britain will never let me through, more likely to intern me. Milyukov will swindle us. The only hope—send someone to Petrograd and secure through the Soviet of Workers' Deputies exchange for interned Germans. Cable.

Ulyanov

Written on March 30, 1917
Sent from Zurich to Stockholm

First published in 1924
in *Lenin Miscellany II*

Printed from the original
in German

TELEGRAM TO ROBERT GRIMM

National Councillor Grimm[507]

Our Party has decided to accept without reservations the proposal that the Russian émigrés should travel through Germany, and to organise this journey at once.[508] We already expect to have more than ten participants in the journey.

We absolutely decline responsibility for any further delay, resolutely protest against it and are going alone. We earnestly request you to make the arrangements immediately and, if possible, let us know the decision tomorrow.

With gratitude,

Lenin, *Zinoviev*, *Ulyanova*

Written on March 31, 1917
Sent from Zurich to Berne

First published in 1924
in *Lenin Miscellany II*

Printed from a copy
in an unknown hand
Translated from the German

TO THE ZURICH GROUP OF BOLSHEVIKS

Dear Friends,

I attach the decision of our Party's Central Committee[509] (the Karpinskys, after taking 2 copies, must *immediately* return this decision to me). *Immediately* take a copy (*for yourselves*) and send it to the Karpinskys *express* by the *first train* (*take it to the station*), *enclosing also this letter of mine*.

Inform Lausanne (Goberman)[510] specially.

I will add for myself that I consider the Mensheviks who have wrecked the common enterprise *scoundrels* of the first water who are "afraid" of what "public opinion", i.e., the social-patriots, will say![511] I am going (and Zinoviev) *in any case*.

Find out exactly (1) who is going and (2) how much money they have.

Write about this at once to Radomyslsky, Neufeldstr. 27. Bern.

We *already* have a fund of over 1,000 francs for the journey. We are thinking of fixing Wednesday, April 4, as the day of departure.

All should *immediately* take passports from the Russian Consul at their place of residence.

Regards,
Yours,
Lenin

Send copies at once to Abram and his wife.

P.S. I enclose the 100 francs which you asked Grigory to lend you.

Written on April 2 or 3, 1917

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

TELEGRAM TO J. S. HANECKI

We have an unaccountable delay. The Mensheviks demand the sanction of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies. Send someone to Finland or Petrograd at once to settle the matter with Chkheidze as far as possible. Belenin's opinion is desirable. Cable Volkshaus, Berne.

Ulyanov

Written on April 5, 1917
Sent from Berne to Stockholm

First published in 1924
in the journal
Proletarskaya Revolutsia
No. 1 (24)

Printed from the text
on the telegraph form
Translated from the German

TELEGRAM TO HENRI GUILBEAUX

Leaving tomorrow midday for Germany.[512] Platten accompanying train, please come immediately, shall cover expenses. Bring Romain Rolland, if he agrees in principle Do everything possible to bring Naine or Graber with you Cable Ulyanov, Volkshaus.

Ulyanov

Written on April 6, 1917
Sent from Berne to Geneva

First published in 1923 in French in the book by Henri Guilbeaux, *Waldimir Iljitsch Lenin*, Berlin

Printed from the book text
Translated from the French

PRELIMINARY DRAFT OF THE APRIL THESES[513]

THESES:

1) Attitude to the war.
   No concessions to "revolutionary defencism".
2) "The demand that the Provisional Government" should "renounce conquests ".
   (α) Attitude to the Provisional Government.
   (β) Attitude to the Soviets of Workers' Deputies.
2 bis) Criticism of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies.
3) Not a parliamentary republic, but a republic of Soviets of Workers', Agricultural Labourers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies.

(α) Abolition of the army, the bureaucracy and the police.
(β) Salaries to officials.

4) Specifics of propaganda, agitation and organisation in the period of transition from the first stage of the revolution to the second. Maximum of legally recognised rights.
   Supporters, honest, but duped by the bourgeoisie, of *only* "war through necessity", "war not for conquest", and their deception by the bourgeoisie.
5) The agrarian programme.
   (α) Nationalisation. (Confiscation of all landed estates.)
   (β) Each large-scale estate to be turned into a "model farm" under the control of a Soviet of Agricultural Labourers' Deputies.
   +(γ) Soviets of Agricultural Labourers' Deputies to be pivotal.

6) A single bank under the control of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies.

6 bis) *Not* introduction of socialism *at once*, but the immediate, systematic and gradual transition of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies to *control* over social production and distribution of products.

7) Congress.
Change of programme and name.
A new International. Creation of a revolutionary international....*

Written on April 8 (16), 1917
First published in 1928 in *Lenin Miscellany VII*
Printed from the original

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* The MS. breaks off at this point.—*Ed.*

SPEECH AT A MEETING OF THE PETROGRAD SOVIET EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ON APRIL 4 (17), 1917 ON THE QUESTION OF THE PASSAGE ACROSS GERMANY

MINUTES

In order to put an end to the lies being spread by the bourgeois press, it is essential to adopt the resolution proposed by Comrade Zinoviev. He proposes a statement that émigrés of all trends should be allowed through. We undertook no obligations at all. We only promised that on our return we would appeal to the workers to help the exchange. If you recognise that exchange is right, you will thereby refute all the lies. Otherwise you will give food for insinuation and slander....

First published in 1925 in the book: *Petrogradsky Sovet rabochikh i soldatskikh deputatov. Protokoly* (The Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. Minutes), State Publishing House

Printed from the text in the book

REPORT AT A MEETING OF BOLSHEVIK DELEGATES TO THE ALL-RUSSIA CONFERENCE OF SOVIETS OF WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS' DEPUTIES APRIL 4 (17), 1917[514]

I have put down a few theses on which I will make some comments. For lack of time I was unable to present a circumstantial and systematic report.

The basic question is the attitude to the war. The main thing that comes to the fore, when you read about Russia and see what goes on here, is the victory of defencism, the victory of the traitors to socialism, the deception of the masses by the bourgeoisie. What strikes one is that here in Russia the socialist movement is in the same state as in other countries: defencism, "defence of the fatherland". The difference is that nowhere is there such freedom as here, and therefore we have a special responsibility to the whole international proletariat. The new government is as imperialist as the previous one; it is imperialist through and through, despite its promise of a republic.

"I. In our attitude towards the war, which under the new government of Lvov and Co. unquestionably remains on Russia's part a predatory imperialist war owing to the capitalist nature of that government, not the slightest concession to 'revolutionary defencism' is permissible.

"The class-conscious proletariat can give its consent to a revolutionary war, which would really justify revolutionary defencism, only on condition: a) that power passes to the proletariat and the poorest sections of the peasants aligned with the proletariat; b) that all annexations are renounced in deed and not in word; c) that a complete break is effected in actual fact with all capitalist interests.

"In view of the undoubted honesty of those broad sections of the mass believers in revolutionary defencism who accept the war only as a necessity, and not as a means of conquest, in view of the fact that they are being deceived by the bourgeoisie, it is necessary with particular thoroughness, persistence and patience to explain their error to them, to explain the inseparable connection existing between capital and the imperialist war, and to prove that without overthrowing capital *it is impossible* to end the war by a truly democratic peace, a peace not imposed by violence.

"The most widespread campaign for this view must be organised in the army at the front.

"Fraternisation."

We cannot allow the slightest concession to defencism in our attitude to the war even under the new government, which remains imperialist. The masses take a practical and not a theoretical view of things. They say: "I want to defend the fatherland, not to seize other peoples' lands." When can a war be considered your own? When annexations are completely renounced.

The masses take a practical and not a theoretical approach to the question. We make the mistake of taking the theoretical approach. A class-conscious proletarian can agree to a revolutionary war, which really does justify revolutionary defencism. The practical approach is the only possible one with representatives of the mass of the soldiers. We are not pacifists in any sense. But the main question is: which class is carrying on the war? The class of capitalists, linked with the banks, cannot wage any kind of war except an imperialist one. The working class can. Steklov and Chkheidze have forgotten everything. When you read the resolution of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies, you are amazed that people calling themselves socialists could adopt such a resolution.[515]

What is specific in Russia is the extremely rapid transition from savage violence to the most subtle deception. The main condition is *renunciation of annexations not in words*, but in deeds. *Rech* howls at *Sotsial-Demokrat*'s statement that the integration of Courland with Russia is annexation. But annexation is the integration of any country with distinct national peculiarities; it is any integration of a nation against its will, irrespective of whether it differs in language,

if it feels itself to be another people. This is a prejudice of the Great Russians which has been fostered for centuries.

The war can be ended only by a clean break with international capital. The war was engendered not by individuals but by international finance capital. It is no easy thing to break with international capital, but neither is it an easy thing to end the war. It is childishness and naïveté to expect one side alone to end the war.... Zimmerwald, Kienthal[516].... We have a greater obligation than anyone else to safeguard the honour of international socialism. The difficulty of approach....

In view of the undoubted existence of a defencist mood among the masses, who recognise the war *only of necessity* and not for the sake of conquest, we must explain to them most circumstantially, persistently and patiently that the war cannot be ended in a non-rapacious peace unless capital is overthrown. This idea must be spread far and wide. The soldiers want a concrete answer: how to end the war. But it is political fraud to promise the people that we can end the war only by the goodwill of individual persons. The masses must be forewarned. A revolution is a difficult thing. It is impossible to avoid mistakes. Our mistake is that we (have not exposed?) revolutionary defencism to the full. Revolutionary defencism is betrayal of socialism. We cannot confine ourselves.... We must admit our mistake. What is to be done? To explain. How to present ... who doesn't know what socialism is.... We are not charlatans. We must base ourselves only on the political consciousness of the masses. Even if we have to remain in a minority let it be so. It is worth while giving up our leading position for a time; we should not be afraid of remaining in a minority. When the masses say they don't want conquest, I believe them. When Guchkov and Lvov say they don't want conquest, they are swindlers. When the worker says that he wants to defend the country, he voices the oppressed man's instinct.

"II. The specific feature of the present situation in Russia is that the country is *passing* from the first stage of the revolution—which, owing to the insufficient class-consciousness and organisation of the proletariat, placed power in the hands of the bourgeoisie—to the *second* stage, which

must place power in the hands of the proletariat and the poorest sections of the peasants.

"This transition is characterised, on the one hand, by a maximum of legally recognised rights (Russia is *now* the freest of all the belligerent countries in the world); on the other, by the absence of violence towards the masses, and, finally, by their unreasoning trust in the government of capitalists, those worst enemies of peace and socialism.

"This peculiar situation demands of us an ability to adapt ourselves to the *special* conditions of Party work among unprecedentedly large masses of proletarians who have just awakened to political life."

Why didn't they take power? Steklov says: for this reason and that. This is nonsense. The fact is that the proletariat is not organised and class-conscious enough. This must be admitted; material strength is in the hands of the proletariat, but the bourgeoisie turned out to be prepared and class-conscious. This is a monstrous fact, but it should be frankly and openly admitted, and the people should be told that they didn't take power because they were unorganised and not conscious enough.... The ruin of millions, the death of millions. The most advanced countries are on the brink of disaster, and they will therefore be faced with the question....

The transition from the first stags to the second—the transfer of power to the proletariat and the peasantry—is characterised, on the one hand, by the maximum of legality (Russia today is the freest and most progressive country in the world) and, on the other, by an attitude of blind trust on the part of the masses in the government. Even our Bolsheviks show some trust in the government. This can be explained only by the intoxication of the revolution. It is the death of socialism. You comrades have a trusting attitude to the government. If that is so, our paths diverge. I prefer to remain in a minority. One Liebknecht is worth more than 110 defencists of the Steklov and Chkheidze type. If you sympathise with Liebknecht and stretch out even a finger (to the defencists), it will be betrayal of international socialism. If we break away from those people ... everyone who is oppressed will come to us, because the war will lead him to us; he has no other way out.

The people should be spoken to without Latin words, in clear and simple terms. They have the right ...—we must adapt ourselves ... make the change, but it is essential. Our line will prove to be the correct one.

"III. No support for the Provisional Government; the utter falsity of all its promises should be made clear, particularly of those relating to the renunciation of annexations. Exposure in place of the impermissible, illusion-breeding 'demand' that *this* government, a government of capitalists, should *cease* to be an imperialist government."

Pravda demands of the *government* that it should renounce annexations. To demand of a government of capitalists that it should renounce annexations is nonsense, a crying mockery of....

From the scientific standpoint this is such gross deception which all the international proletariat, all.... It is time to admit our mistake. We've had enough of greetings and resolutions, it is time to act. We must get down to a sober, business-like....

"IV. Recognition of the fact that in most of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies our Party is in a minority, so far a small minority, as against *a bloc of all* the petty-bourgeois opportunist elements, from the Popular Socialists[517] and the Socialist-Revolutionaries down to the Organising Committee (Chkheidze, Tsereteli, etc.), Steklov, etc., etc., who have yielded to the influence of the bourgeoisie and spread that influence among the proletariat.

"The masses must be made to see that the Soviets of Workers' Deputies are the *only possible* form of revolutionary government, and that therefore our task is, as long as *this* government yields to the influence of the bourgeoisie, to present a patient, systematic, and persistent *explanation* of the errors of their tactics, an explanation especially adapted to the practical needs of the masses.

"As long as we are in the minority we carry on the work of criticising and exposing errors and at the same time we preach the necessity of transferring the entire state power to the Soviets of Workers' Deputies, so that the people may overcome their mistakes by experience."

We Bolsheviks are in the habit of taking the line of maxi-

mum revolutionism. But that is not enough. We must sort things out.

The Soviet of Workers' Deputies is the real government. To think otherwise is to fall into anarchism. It is a recognised fact that in the Soviet of Workers' Deputies our Party is in a minority. We must explain to the masses that the Soviet of Workers' Deputies is the only possible government, a government without parallel in the world, except for the Commune. What if a majority of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies takes the defencist stand? That cannot be helped. It remains for us to explain, patiently, persistently, systematically, the erroneous nature of their tactics.

So long as we are in a minority, we carry on the work of criticism, in order to open the people's eyes to the deception. We don't want the masses to take our word for it. We are not charlatans. We want the masses to overcome their mistakes through *experience*.

The manifesto of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies contains not a word imbued with class-consciousness. It's all talk! Talk, flattery of the revolutionary people, is the only thing that has ruined all revolutions. The whole of Marxism teaches us not to succumb to revolutionary phrases, particularly at a time when they have the greatest currency.

"V. Not a parliamentary republic—to return to a parliamentary republic from the Soviets of Workers' Deputies would be a retrograde step—but a republic of Soviets of Workers', Agricultural Labourers' and Peasants' Deputies throughout the country, from top to bottom.

"Abolition of the police, the army and the bureaucracy.*

"The salaries of all officials, all of whom are elective and displaceable at any time, not to exceed the average wage of a competent worker."

This is the lesson of the French Commune, which Kautsky forgot and which the workers teach us in 1905 and 1917. The experience of these years teaches us that we must not allow the police and the old army to be restored.

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* i.e., the standing army to be replaced by the arming of the whole people.

The programme should be changed, it is out of date. The Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies is a step to socialism. There must be no police, no army, no officialdom. The convocation of the Constituent Assembly—but by whom? Resolutions are written only to be shelved or sat on. I should be glad to have the Constituent Assembly convened tomorrow, but it is naïve to believe that Guchkov will call it. All the chatter about forcing the Provisional Government to call the Constituent Assembly is empty talk, a pack of lies. Revolutions were made, but the police stayed on, revolutions were made, but all the officials, etc., stayed on. That was why the revolutions foundered. The Soviet of Workers' Deputies is the only government which can call that assembly. We all seized upon the Soviets of Workers' Deputies, but have failed to understand them. From this form we are dragging back to the International, which is trailing behind the bourgeoisie.

A bourgeois republic cannot solve the problem (of the war), because it can be solved only on an international scale. We don't promise liberation ... but we say that it is possible only in this form (Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies). No government except the Soviet of Workers' and Agricultural Labourers' Deputies. If you talk about the Commune, they won't understand. But if you say, there is the Soviet of Workers' and Agricultural Labourers' Deputies instead of the police, learn to govern—no one can interfere with us—(that they will understand).

No books will ever teach you the art of government. Learning to govern is a matter of trial and error.

"VI. The weight of emphasis in the agrarian programme to be shifted to the Soviets of Agricultural Labourers' Deputies.

"Confiscation of all landed estates.

"Nationalisation of *all* lands in the country, the land to be disposed of by the local Soviets of Agricultural Labourers' and Peasants' Deputies. The organisation of separate Soviets of Deputies of Poor Peasants. The setting up of a model farm on each of the large estates (ranging in size from 100 to 300 dessiatines, according to local and other conditions and to the decisions of the local bodies) under the control of the Soviets of Agricultural Labourers' Deputies and for the public account."

What is the peasantry? We don't know, there are no statistics, but we do know that it is a force.

If they take the land, you can be sure that they won't give it back to you, they won't ask us. The pivot, the centre of gravity of the programme has shifted, and is the Soviets of Agricultural Labourers' Deputies. If the Russian peasant doesn't settle the revolution, the German worker will.

The Tambov muzhik....

The first dessiatine cost free, the second, for 1 ruble, the third, for 2 rubles. We shall take over the land, and the landowner will never be able to take it back.

Communal farming.

It is necessary to organise separate Soviets of Deputies from the poor peasants. There is the rich muzhik, and there is the labourer. Even if you give him land, he won't set up a farm. The large estates should be turned into model farms run on social lines, with management by the Soviets of Agricultural Labourers' Deputies.

There are large estates.

"VII. The immediate amalgamation of all banks in the country into a single national bank, and the institution of control over it by the Soviet of Workers' Deputies."

The bank is "a form of social book-keeping" (Marx). War teaches economy; everyone knows that the banks sap the strength of the people. The banks are the nerve, the focus of the national economy. We cannot take hold of the banks, but we advocate their amalgamation under the control of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies.

"VIII. It is not our *immediate* task to 'introduce' socialism, but only to bring social production and the distribution of products at once under the *control* of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies."

Practice and the revolution tend to push the Constituent Assembly into the background. The important thing about laws is not that they are put down on paper, but who carries them out. The dictatorship of the proletariat is there, but people don't know haw to work it. Capitalism has developed into state capitalism.... Marx ... only that which has matured in practice....

"IX. Party tasks:

(a) Immediate convocation of a Party congress.

(b) Amendment of the Party Programme, mainly:

1) On the question of imperialism and the imperialist war;

2) On our attitude towards the state and our demand for a "commune state"*;

3) Amendment of our out-of-date minimum programme.

(c) Change of the Party's name.**

"X. A new International.

"We must take the initiative in creating a revolutionary International, an International against the *social-chauvinists* and against the '*Centre*'.***"

General conclusion.

The Soviet of Workers' Deputies has been created, it enjoys vast influence. All instinctively sympathise with it. This institution combines far more revolutionary thought than all the *revolutionary phrases*. If the Soviet of Workers' Deputies succeeds in taking government into its own hands, the cause of liberty is assured. You may write the most ideal laws, but who will put them into effect? The same officials, but they are tied up with the bourgeoisie.

It is not "introduce socialism" that we ought to tell the masses, but put it into effect (?). Capitalism has gone ahead, war capitalism is different from that which existed before the war.

On the basis of our tactical conclusions we must go on to practical steps. A Party congress must be called at once and the Programme revised. A great deal in it is out of date. The minimum programme must be changed.

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* That is, a state of which the Paris Commune was the prototype.

** We must call ourselves the *Communist Party*, instead of "Social-Democratic", for the official Social-Democrat leaders *throughout* the world have betrayed socialism and have gone over to the bourgeoise (the "defencists" and wavering "Kautskians").

*** "Centre" is the name given among international Social-Democrats to the trend which wavers between the chauvinists (=the "defencists") and the internationalists, namely, Kautsky and Co. in Germany; Longuet and Co. in France; Chkheidze and Co. in Russia; Turati and Co. in Italy; MacDonald and Co. in Britain, etc.

I personally propose that we change the name of our Party and call it the *Communist Party*. The people will understand the name of "Communist". Most of the official Social-Democrats have committed treason, they have betrayed socialism.... Liebknecht is the one Social-Democrat.... You are afraid of betraying old recollections. But if you want to change your underwear you must take off your dirty shirt and put on a clean one. Why throw out the experience of world-wide struggle? Most of the Social-Democrats throughout the world have betrayed socialism, and have sided with their governments (Scheidemann, Plekhanov, Guesde). What is to be done to make Scheidemann agree?... This point of view spells ruin for socialism. It would be deception to send a radio telegram to Scheidemann about ending the war....

The term "Social-Democracy" is inexact. Don't cling to an old word which has become rotten through and through. If you want to build a new party ... and all the oppressed will come to you.

The Centre prevailed at Zimmerwald and Kienthal.... *Rabochaya Gazeta*. We shall prove to you that the whole of experience has shown.... We declare that we have formed a Left wing and have broken with the Centre. Either you speak about the International, then carry out..., or you....

The Left Zimmerwald trend exists in all the countries of the world. The masses must realise that socialism has split throughout the world. The defencists have renounced socialism. Liebknecht alone.... The future is with him.

I have heard that there is a tendency in Russia towards unification, towards unity with the defencists. This is betrayal of socialism. I think it is better to remain alone, like Liebknecht: one against 110.

First published
on November 7, 1924
in *Pravda* No. 255

Printed from the *Pravda* text

TO J. S. HANECKI AND KARL RADEK

Comrades Hanecki and Radek: Herrn Fürstenberg
8. Birgerjarlsgatan. 8. Stockholm

April 12, 1917

Dear Friends,

Up to now we have received nothing, absolutely nothing from you—no letters, no packets, no money.[518] Only two telegrams from Hanecki. We are sending you two files of *Pravda*: one for you, the other for Karpinsky (Mr. Karpinsky. Bibliothèque russe. 7. rue Hugo de Senger. 7. Genève. (Genf) Suisse), and two sets of cuttings: one for you, the other for Karpinsky.

Notify us by postcard (M. T. Yelizarov for V. I. Shirokaya Ul., 48, kv. 24. Petrograd) or by telegram that you have received this letter and the papers.

Steinberg[519] has arrived, and promises to get hold of the packets which were sent. We shall see whether he succeeds.

If you get the newspapers, they will give you an idea of the whole situation.

In case the papers don't reach you, let me describe it in brief.

The bourgeoisie (+Plekhanov) are furiously attacking us for travelling through Germany. They are trying to incite the soldiers against us. So far it isn't coming off: there are supporters, and loyal ones, among them. Among the S.R.s and the Social-Democrats there is the most desperate chauvinist excitement, which has taken the form of "revolutionary defencism" (now, they allege, there is something to defend, namely, the republic against Wilhelm).

We are being furiously attacked for opposing "unity", while the masses are for the unity of all Social-Democrats. We are against.

Chkheidze has sunk *completely* into "revolutionary defencism". In a bloc with Potresov. *All* are for the Liberty Loan.[520] It is opposed only by us+the *Nashe Slovo* group+ Larin and a handful of Martov's friends.

We are calling an all-Russia conference of Bolsheviks on April 22, 1917.[521]

We hope completely to straighten out the line of *Pravda*, which has wobbled towards "Kautskyism".[522]

Write articles for *Pravda* on foreign affairs—very short and in the *Pravda* spirit (it's so small! There is so little space! We are working to enlarge it). Also, most briefly, about the German revolutionary movement and the Leftist press.

Write us a letter about the doings among the Swedish Left.[523] We have heard that the chauvinist Branting is attacking Radek.

At the beginning of the revolution, the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies concluded an *agreement* with the Provisional Government for *support* of the latter.[524] There is a "Contact Commission": the Soviet "supervises" the Provisional Government.

The position is extremely complex and exceptionally interesting. We are publishing pamphlets on tactics.[525] The Soviet wants a *general*, international socialist congress. We want *only* a congress of the Left, against the social-chauvinists and against the "Centre".

I shake your hands, and wish you all the best. Write as often as you can and be very regular and careful in your contacts.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

Sent from Petrograd to Stockholm

First published in 1923 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolutsia* No. 9 (21)

Printed from the original

THESES ON THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT DECLARATION

Theses

1) Peace without annexations = a world revolution against capital.
2) Revision of the treaty = either a farce, or a world revolution against capital.

"Steps for an agreement with the Allies."

2 bis) Puffing the capitalists: "Allied democracies": glossing over the class struggle.

3) All land to the *peasants* — this can be realised even without a revolution against capital, by means of a *bloc*, an *alliance* of the capitalists and the *rich* peasants.
4) All land to the *working people* — this cannot be realised without a revolution against capital.
5) Organisation of production — either a fraud (and more enrichment for the capitalists) or a utopia without a revolution against capital.
6) "An offensive" — a utopia without the greatest revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses,

which can flow only from the greatest revolution, a revolution against capital.

7) Departure from the Soviets,
betrayal of them,
transition to *bureaucracy*:
"state control", we are *for*. But *by whom*?
Who is to exercise control?
Officials?
Or the Soviets?

8) Constituent Assembly on land:

already out of date

9) No confidence and no support!

10) Even more strongly: explanation of the *proletarian* line, drawing a distinction between it and the *petty-boureois* line

ΣΣ=*a Ministry of petty-bourgeois illusions and petty-bourgeois compromise.*

Written not before May 4, (17) 1917

First published in 1925 in *Lenin Miscellany IV*

Printed from the original

PLAN FOR A REPORT ON THE SEVENTH (APRIL) ALL-RUSSIA CONFERENCE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.) AT A MEETING OF THE PETROGRAD ORGANISATION MAY 8 (21), 1917

I

"Victory"! Hence ... chaos of phrases, moods, "exaltations" ... "revolutionary democracy"=*reactionary* democracy....

(α) Ministry (support of the capitalists)....

(β) for the offensive....

(γ) against taking the land....

(δ) against fraternisation....

Separation of the proletarian class line=formation of a mass proletarian party ....

Reorganisation of all parties....

|| Capitalists ....

|| (Trudoviks) Narodniks and Mensheviks

||| Proletarian party

No. 47 of *Sotsial-Demokrat*, October 13, 1915. Theses Nos. *8-11*.[526]

"all like children"
(*Zemlya i Volya* No. 36)
(May 6, 1917)

Verses "From Springtime Moods" by *Ilya Ilyin*

"All like children! The day is so rosy!
No night! There'll be no slumber!
As though there were no frosts,
As though spring reigns eternal!"

Wavering of the petty bourgeoisie=the essence. But the petty bourgeoisie=tens and tens of millions, "a host of hosts", a multitude of groups and strata, subgroups and substrata, etc., etc. A *supremely protracted* process....

II

The main points in *all* resolutions:

(1) The war: capitalists
revolutionary defencists (Narodniks and Mensheviks)....
internationalist proletarians

(2) Attitude to the Provisional Government: capitalists
Contact Commission (Narodniks and Mensheviks)
internationalist proletarians.

(3) *Agrarian*:
landowners and capitalists
{ "*not to take the land*" (*Narodniks and Mensheviks*) (in § 4)
{ *not to separate out agricultural wage-workers*
{ *not to advance to socialism*.... (§§ 8 and 9)[527]
internationalist proletarians.

(4) Borgbjerg and the *International*.[528]

+(5) three trends: (α) for the capitalists
(β) waverers (Narodniks and Mensheviks)
(γ) internationalist proletarians

+(6) Coalition Ministry: capitalists in the majority
Narodniks and Mensheviks
proletarians.

(7) National question: Finland
capitalists
Mensheviks
proletarians.

(8) Alliance with the internationalists against the petty-bourgeois defencist bloc....

(9) The present moment: attitude to socialism
(α) capitalists
(β) Mensheviks and Narodniks (not socialism)
(γ) proletarians.
(10) Party Programme. ΣΣ about *imperialism*
about the *state*
about the *International*.
N.B. (11) Advance to socialism.
(12) The Soviets { development in the localities, / a brake in the centre }
ΣΣ=*new elections*....
((V.O.!))[529]

III

New conditions:
{{ (α) Unprecedented legality
(β) Tens of millions before us...
(γ) Eve of unprecedented collapse
(war—and famine) (main thing).
*Inde**: Be as firm as a rock in maintaining the proletarian line
{ against petty-bourgeois waverings — —
— —influence the masses by *persuasion*, "*explanation*"—
— —prepare for a collapse and a revolution *1,000 times more powerful than the February one*.
Waverings of the petty bourgeoisie: { Trotsky.... / Larin and Binshtok / Martov / *Novaya Zhizn* }
The masses: (Peasant Congress[530])
The old personnel of agitators+propagandists+*organisers*+etc.?
New forces (*shortage of people*).
(α) Big meetings of Party members (like this one).
(β) *Tenfold multiplication of groups* of agitators+propagandists+*organisers*.

* Hence.—*Ed*.

How? *I don't know*. But I know for certain that without this it's *no use even talking* about a revolution by the proletariat.

(γ) Group agitation—on a massive scale (versus meetings)

(γ) ditto *organisation*.

(δ) The maximum of Marxism = the maximum of popular style and simplicity (*Umschlag**)

(δ) The party of the proletariat and semi-proletariat = the party of the workers and poor peasants....

(δ) The maximum of Marxism = (*Umschlag*) the maximum of popular style.

The poor peasants.

Demagogy? Everyone was accused of this in all revolutions.

Marxism is the guarantee....

Written between May 6 and 8 (19 and 21), 1917

First published in 1925 in *Lenin Miscellany IV*

Printed from the original

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* Transition of one into the other.—*Ed*.

FOR THE CONGRESS OF SOVIETS[531]

Phrase-mongering about revolution and halting (=throttling) of the revolution by the Narodniks and Mensheviks.

The "new" government[532]:

(1) Lockout experts....

...(2) Draggers-out of the slaughter....

...(3) Saviours of the landowner....

||The offensive (for peace without annexations).

||Secret treaties (and peace without annexations).

||Finland (and peace without annexations—and *democracy*).

Delay on the land (cf. the peasant Soviet and Conference of State Duma members[533] versus the Chief Land Committee).[534]

Lockout experts (and persecution of workmen).

Schlisselburg and Kronstadt—the post and telegraph employees (Ministers for pacification, or Ministers for throttling revolution? Ministers for dispatches to pacify?)

Tereshchenko+Shingaryov+Lvov and Co.=practical men....

Kerensky=Minister of Revolutionary Histrionics....

Economic ruin and catastrophe (and promises).

Bloc of Mensheviks+Narodniks (S.R.)+*Yedinstvo*....

Bloc of the petty and big bourgeoisie *against* the workers....

Written in the first half of June 1917

First published in 1925 in *Lenin Miscellany IV*

Printed from the original

NOTE TO L. B. KAMENEV

Comrade Kamenev

Entre nous: if they do me in, I ask you to publish my notebook: "Marxism on the State" (it got left behind in Stockholm).[535] It's bound in a blue cover. It contains a collection of all the quotations from Marx and Engels, likewise from Kautsky against Pannekoek. There are a number of remarks and notes, and formulations. I think it could be published after a week's work. I believe it to be important, because not only Plekhanov but also Kautsky have bungled things. The condition: all this is absolutely *entre nous*!

Written between July 5 (18) and 7 (20), 1917

First published in 1924 in the publisher's preface to N. Lenin *The State and Revolution*, *The Marxist Theory of the State, and the Tasks of the Proletariat in the Revolution*. Moscow, Krasnaya Nov Publishers

Printed from the book text

TO N. I. PODVOISKY OR V. A. ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO

November 26, 1917

To the Staff (for Podvoisky or Antonov)

The bearers are railwaymen comrades from Orenburg. *Urgent* military aid against Dutov is required. Please discuss and decide on *practical* steps as soon as possible. Write to me what you have decided.

Lenin

First published on February 23, 1927 in *Pravda* No. 44

Printed from the *Pravda* text

SPEECHES AT A MEETING OF THE C.C. OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.) NOVEMBER 29 (DECEMBER 12), 1917

MINUTES[536]

1

The question of the composition of *Pravda*'s editorial board[537] is under discussion. N. I. Bukharin suggests that he be released from work in the Economic Conference, to enable him to devote himself entirely to work in *Pravda*.

Comrade Lenin points out that up to now the Economic Conference has not received sufficient attention, yet it is one of the most important factors in current state construction,[538] and therefore needs expert men, like Comrade Bukharin. Therefore he insists that Comrade Bukharin should not be on *Pravda*'s editorial board.

2

Yelena Stasova proposes an editorial board for *Pravda* composed of the following three: J. V. Stalin, G. Y. Sokolnikov and N. I. Bukharin.

Comrade Lenin proposes a different three: Sokolnikov, Stalin and Trotsky.

3

An application from A. I. Rykov, L. B. Kamenev, V. P. Milyutin and V. P. Nogin for readmission to the C.C. of the Party is under discussion.

Comrade Lenin reads a rough draft of his reply to this application,[539] pointing out that the statement of the four

shows clearly their complete disagreement with us, since they consider that the C.C. has made concessions. He makes the concrete proposal that the four should be required to state in writing where they want their letter to go, i.e., whether they want it printed in the press. For our part we do not intend to send it to the press, but reply to them in writing that we are not taking them back.

First published in 1929 in the book: *Protokoly TsK R.S.D.R.P. August 1917-fevral 1918* (Minutes of the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. August 1917-February 1918)

Printed from the manuscript minutes

SESSION OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE DECEMBER 1 (14), 1917

1

SPEECH ON THE QUESTION OF SETTING UP A SUPREME ECONOMIC COUNCIL[540]

NEWSPAPER REPORT

Lenin speaks in defence of the Soviet draft, pointing out that the Supreme Economic Council cannot be reduced to a parliament, but must be the same kind of fighting organ for combating the capitalists and landowners in the economy as the Council of People's Commissars is in politics.

Published on December 3 (16) 1917 in the newspaper *Novaya Zhizn* No. 192

Printed from the newspaper text

TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV AND F. E. DZERZHINSKY

Comrade Shlyapnikov and Comrade Dzerzhinsky

The bearer, Comrade Vorobyov, a delegate from the Urals, has excellent references from his local organisation. In the Urals, there is a most acute problem. The boards of the Urals works *here* (with offices in Petrograd) should be *arrested* immediately, threatened with (revolutionary) court proceedings for bringing about a crisis in the Urals, while all the works in the Urals should be *confiscated*. Draw up a draft decree as soon as possible.[541]

Lenin

Written at the beginning of December 1917

First published on April 22, 1920 in the newspaper *Uralsky Rabochy* No. 95

Printed from the original

FROM A PUBLICIST'S DIARY

Themes for Elaboration[542]

1. "The man with the gun need no longer be feared."
*1 bis**: Living quarters and food for the poor.
*1 ter***: The weak spots of the Soviet power, which is just starting out.
2. "Propaganda by deed."
3. Agitator or prosecutor?
4. Practicalism and "positive work".
5. Organisational work and organisers from among the people.
5 bis: cf. *Pravda* until April 4 on miracles of organisation.[543]
6. Our attitude to the anarchists.
6 bis: Anarchists by mistake—through impatience—in mood—by instinct.
7. Discontented among the workers.
8. The intelligentsia's red tape and slovenliness.
9. Has the resistance of the capitalists been broken down? (Historic phrase of the good Peshekhonov.[544])
9 bis: Civil war, its significance, its burdens (deserters), its inevitability in 1917-18.
10. National chauvinism in the oppressor and in the oppressed nations.
10 bis: The parasitism of the petty bourgeoisie and the Finnish Social-Democrats' betrayal.
11. How to "win over" to the side of the Russian Socialist Republic of Soviets other nations, in general, and

* Second.—*Ed.*
** Third.—*Ed.*

the nations formerly oppressed by the Great Russians, in particular?

12. Suppression of the exploiters.

13. How to organise emulation?

14. Accounting and control, as the essence of socialism.

14 bis: Mobile groups of controllers.

14 ter: Rogues in revolutions.

15. To manage factories or to argue about socialism?

16. Workers' discipline and the habits of tramps.

16a. The death sentence and shootings of thieves by the Red Guards.

17. What do tramps and intellectuals have in common?

17 bis: "Right-wing Bolshevism"; is there room for it in our Party?

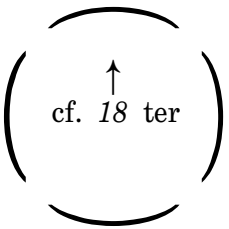
18. The Constituent Assembly and the Socialist Republic of Soviets.

The waves of revolution follow one upon the other not smoothly, not evenly, not all in the same way.

18 *bis*: The formal democracy of the bourgeoisie and (versus) the machinery of the proletariat for drawing the people into the war against the bourgeoisie.

18 ter: Democracy and (versus) the dictatorship of the proletariat.

19. Quotation from Plekhanov's 1903 speech.[545] In what does "their" complete ideological collapse lie (of the petty-bourgeois, opportunist socialists, Mensheviks, Right-wing and Chernov S.R.s, the *Novaya Zhizn* group and Co.)?



20. A "separate peace", its dangers and its possible significance. Is a separate peace an "understanding" ("compromise") with the imperialists?

20 *bis*: A separate peace and our duty to the international proletariat. "*Die Deutschen brauchen eine Niederlage*."*[546]

21. Steps or stages in the revolution. Taking account of class forces and allies. Peace and land—in Russia.

* "The Germans need a defeat."—*Ed*.

22. Imperialists' provocation: Republic of Soviets, give us a convenient pretext for throttling you as soon as possible!
22 bis: *Pravda* of Dec. 24; "Their plan." Lloyd George's historic words. "About Russia."[547]
23. Revolutionary internationalists going over to "defencism".
24. The foreign policy of the Socialist Republic of Soviets.
25. Revolutionary phrases and revolutionary duty in the matter of revolutionary war.
26. How to "prepare" a revolutionary war?
27. The revolutionary war of a proletariat in power can only be a war for consolidated socialism.
28. First defeat the bourgeoisie in Russia, then fight the foreign, alien bourgeoisie.
29. The difficulties of revolution in the West-European "parasitic" countries.
31.* Revolutions—locomotives of history.
Put the locomotive into top gear and keep it on the rails.
32. To raise the very lowest strata to making history: *Mit dem Umfang der geschichtlichen Action wird auch der Umfang der Masse zunehmen, deren Action sie ist.* "With the thoroughness of the historical action the size of the mass whose action it is will therefore increase."[548]

33. Κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί.** { Already gained: (α) Maximum democracy (β) Concretisation of the first steps to socialism (γ) Peace and land }

34. Finances and food.
Centre and localities.
35. "Harassment" of profiteers and saboteurs.
36. Money. Its role. Its attraction into the "Treasury".
37. Nationalisation of industry and the workers' "duty" at work.
38. State monopoly of foreign trade.

* No. 30 is not in the MS.—*Ed.*
** Acquisition for good.—*Ed.*

39. The fisc ("Treasury") and the transformation of this concept in a socialist revolution.
40. Banks as a form of accounting.
(Pyatakov's article in *Pravda*.[549])
41. "Gaining time"=a separate peace (*until* a Europe-wide revolution).
42. Three "dates". The "defeats" of Apr. 20 and July 3 versus the victory of Oct. 25.
43. Comparison of this "defeat" with a separate peace.
44. Distribution of labour and distribution of products =ΣΣ.

Economic questions:
The national question:
Political questions:
Questions of organisation:
Foreign policy:

Written on December 24-27, 1917
(January 6-9, 1918)

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

DRAFT DECREE ON CONSUMERS' COMMUNES[550]

1

PRELIMINARY THESES

The drafts put forward by the Commissariat for Food for "supply boards", "delegate committees", etc., and similarly the draft of the Supreme Economic Council for "district economic councils"[551] suggest the need to amalgamate such bodies.

Preliminary theses:

(*Etwa**): supply and marketing committees?

The basic unit should be consumer and producer (better than purchasing and trading, etc.) volost societies, playing the part both of supply committees and marketing agencies. In case of need, volost boundaries could be made alterable.

In the towns a similar place could perhaps be taken by block committees or committees for sections of blocks.

If we manage to set up such committees, basic units, in the localities, the amalgamation of these committees would provide a network capable of properly organising the supply of the whole population with all essentials, and of organising production on a national scale.

Possibly instead of "societies" these could be Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies, with the participation of commercial employees, etc., etc.

Every such society or committee or Soviet (or supply and marketing committee) would be divided up into sections or departments, according to *goods* marketed and *types of products* supplied, for the general regulation of production and consumption (a department for finance, or for cash

* Roughly.—*Ed.*

receipts and disbursements, should be attached to every supply and marketing committee). With the right of levying income tax and granting interest-free credits to the poor, and also universal labour service, this might be the basic unit of socialist society. The volost banks would then have to be amalgamated with the state savings banks, being transformed into a state-wide accounting department, aggregate of the state's receipts and disbursements accounts.

The transportation of products, and likewise their purchase and sale, would then be permitted *only* from one supply and marketing committee to another, all individual marketing being prohibited. On certificates issued by volost (or generally the "basic", lowest) supply and marketing committees, products could be sold also to individuals from central stores, provided that these transactions are recorded in the books of the volost or other supply and marketing committees (except within small units, or for trifles). No transportation of products would be permitted without certificates from the supply and marketing committee.

This would be the unification of the Commissariats for Agriculture, Trade and Industry, Labour, and Food, and the Supreme Economic Council, and the Commissariats for Finance and Communications.

N.B.: "Supply and marketing committees": volost, uyezd, gubernia and district. (ΣΣ = the S.E.C.) Their departments: Central Textile Board, Central Sugar Board, Central Coal Board, etc. (ΣΣ = the S.E.C), Central Bank, etc.

N.B.: Representatives of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies should superintend the well-to-do quarters in towns (or well-to-do country-house settlements, etc.), i.e., those quarters, etc., where the percentage of workers and peasants is lower than, say, 60 per cent.

Written on December 24-27, 1917
(January 6-9, 1918)

First published on January 22, 1929 in *Izvestia* No. 18

Printed from the original

TELEGRAM TO V. A. ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO

Antonov, at His Staff. Kharkov

I welcome whole-heartedly your energetic activity and ruthless struggle against the Kaledinites. I entirely approve of your refusal to make concessions to the local conciliators, who, it seems, have led astray a section of the Bolsheviks. I particularly approve of and welcome the arrest of the millionaire saboteurs in the first- and second-class railway carriage.[552] I advise you to send them for six months to do forced labour in the mines. Once again I greet you for your resolution, and condemn the waverers.

Lenin

Written between December 21 and 28, 1917 (January 3 and 10, 1918)

Published on January 12, 1918 (December 30, 1917) in *Pravda* No. 226

Printed from the telegraph form text

1918

SPEECHES ON WAR AND PEACE AT A MEETING OF THE C.C. OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.) JANUARY 11 (24), 1918

MINUTES

1

Comrade Lenin speaks first and points out that at the meeting on January 8 (21) three standpoints were brought out on this question, and asks whether the question should be discussed point by point on the theses he put forward, or whether a general discussion should be opened. The second alternative is adopted, and Comrade Lenin has the floor.

He begins by setting forth the three standpoints brought out at the previous meeting (1) signing a separate annexationist peace, (2) waging a revolutionary war, and (3) proclaiming the war ended, demobilising the army, but not signing a peace treaty. At the previous meeting, the first standpoint received 15 votes, the second 32 and the third 16.

Comrade Lenin points out that the Bolsheviks have never renounced defence, but this defence and protection of the fatherland must have a definite, concrete context, which exists at the present time, namely, defence of the Socialist Republic against an extremely strong international imperialism. The question is only one of how we should defend our fatherland, the Socialist Republic. The army is excessively fatigued by the war; the horses are in such a state that in the event of an offensive we shall not be able to move the artillery; the Germans are holding such favourable positions on the islands in the Baltic that if they start an offensive they could take Reval and Petrograd

with their bare hands. By continuing the war in such conditions, we shall greatly strengthen German imperialism, peace will have to be concluded just the same, but then the peace will be still worse because it is not we who will be concluding it. The peace we are now forced to conclude is undoubtedly an ignominious one, but if war begins, our government will be swept away and peace will be concluded by a different government. At present, we are relying not only on the proletariat but also on the poor peasantry, which will abandon us if the war continues. Drawing out the war is in the interest of French, British and American imperialism, and proof of this, for example, is the offer made at Krylenko's headquarters by the Americans to pay 100 rubles for every Russian soldier. Those who take the standpoint of revolutionary war stress that we shall then be engaged in a civil war with German imperialism, and shall thereby awaken revolution in Germany. But Germany, after all, is still only pregnant with revolution, whereas we have already given birth to a quite healthy infant, the Socialist Republic, which we may kill if we start the war. We are in possession of a circular letter of the German Social-Democrats, there is information about the attitude to us of two trends in the Centre, of which one considers that we have been bought, and that the current events in Brest are a farce, with the actors playing out their parts. This section is attacking us for the armistice. The other section of the Kautskyites says that the personal honesty of the leaders of the Bolsheviks is beyond all doubt, but that the Bolsheviks' behaviour is a psychological riddle.[553] We don't know the opinion of the Left-wing Social-Democrats. The British workers are supporting our efforts for peace. Of course, the peace we conclude will be an ignominious one, but we need a breathing space in order to carry out social reforms (take transport alone); we need to consolidate ourselves, and this takes time. We need to complete the crushing of the bourgeoisie, but for this we need to have both our hands free. Once we have done this, we shall free both our hands, and then we should be able to carry on a revolutionary war against international imperialism. The echelons of the revolutionary volunteer army which have now been formed are the officers of our future army.

What Comrade Trotsky is proposing—an end to the war, refusal to sign a peace treaty and demobilisation of the army—is an international political demonstration. The only thing we achieve by withdrawing our troops is handing over the Estonian Socialist Republic to the Germans. It is said that by concluding peace we are giving a free hand to the Japanese and Americans, who will immediately occupy Vladivostok. By the time they have even reached Irkutsk, we shall have been able to strengthen our Socialist Republic. By signing a peace treaty we of course betray self-determined Poland, but we retain the Estonian Socialist Republic and win a chance to consolidate our gains. Of course, we make a turn to the right, which leads through a very dirty stable, but we must do it. If the Germans start an offensive, we shall be forced to sign any peace treaty, and then, of course, it will be worse. An indemnity of three thousand million is not too high a price for saving the Socialist Republic. By signing peace now, we give the broad masses a visual demonstration that the imperialists (of Germany, Britain and France), having taken Riga and Baghdad, are continuing to fight, whereas we are developing, the Socialist Republic is developing.

2

Comrade Lenin points out that he is not in agreement on some points with his supporters Stalin and Zinoviev.[554] Of course, there is a mass movement in the West, but the revolution there has not yet begun. But if we were to alter our tactics because of that, we should be traitors to international socialism. He does not agree with Zinoviev that the conclusion of peace will for a time weaken the movement in the West. If we believe that the German movement can develop immediately, in the event of an interruption of the peace negotiations, then we must sacrifice ourselves, for the German revolution will have a force much greater than ours. But the whole point is that the movement there has not yet begun, but over here it already has a newborn and loudly shouting infant, and unless we now say clearly that we agree to peace, we shall perish. It is important for

us to hold out until the general socialist revolution gets under way, but this we can only achieve by concluding peace.

3

Comrade Lenin motions a vote on the proposition that we drag out the signing of a peace treaty in every possible way.

First published in 1922
in N. Lenin (V. Ulyanov),
Sobraniye Sochinenii
(Collected Works), Vol. XV

Printed from
the manuscript minutes

TO THE NAVAL REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE

January 15, 1918

Please take urgent measures to provide Comrade Ter-Arutyunyants immediately with 2,000 sailors for operations against the bourgeois Rada.[555]

Lenin

First published in 1924
in the book *Lenin i Krasny Flot*
(Lenin and the Red Navy)

Printed from the original

TELEGRAM TO V. A. ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO

People's Commissar Antonov, Kharkov

Your telegram received. I welcome the adherence of the Cossacks,[556] whose delegates are already here and have joined the Congress of Soviets. As regards Mogilev, I have just informed Podvoisky and shall also inform Krylenko; as for the land question on the Don, I advise you to bear in mind the text of the resolution adopted the day before yesterday at the Congress of Soviets on the federation of the Soviet Republics.[557] This resolution should fully reassure the Cossacks. Please inform the Secretariat that Zatonsky has left for Kharkov; and that, when leaving, he asked Comrade Artyom to be appointed his deputy. Reply immediately.

Lenin

Written on January 17 (30), 1918
Sent from Petrograd to Kharkov

First published in part in 1924 in the book by V. A. Antonov-Ovseyenko, *Zapiski o grazhdanshoi voine* (Notes on the Civil War), Vol. I, Moscow

Published in full in 1932 in V. I. Lenin *Sobraniye Sochinenii* (Collected Works), Second and Third editions, Vol. XIX

Printed from the telegraph form text

TELEGRAM TO V. A. ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO

People's Commissar Antonov, Kharkov

In view of complaints by the People's Secretariat of friction which has arisen between you and the Central Executive Committee of the Ukraine,[558] I request you to inform me of your side of the matter. Naturally our interference in the internal affairs of the Ukraine, unless required by military necessity, is undesirable. It is more proper to have the various measures adopted through the local authorities, and in general it is best to settle all misunderstandings on the spot.

Lenin

Written before January 21, 1918
Sent from Petrograd to Kharkov

First published in 1924 in the book by V. A. Antonov-Ovseyenko, *Zapiski o grazhdanshoi voine* (Notes on the Civil War), Vol. I

Printed from the telegraph form text

TELEGRAM TO V. A. ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO

January 21, 1918

Comrade Antonov,

I have received a complaint against you from the Central Executive Committee (at Kharkov). I very much regret that my request to you to come to an understanding did not reach you. Please, contact me as soon as you can (by direct line, single or double, through Kharkov) so that we can talk the thing out and get a really good understanding between ourselves. It is my earnest request that you make *every* effort to *eliminate all* friction with the (Kharkov) C.E.C. This is *of the utmost importance* to the *state*. I beg you to make peace with them, and recognise their sovereignty *in every possible form*. I earnestly ask you to recall the commissars you have appointed.

I very much hope that you will fulfil this request, and reach *absolute* peace with the Kharkov C.E.C. This calls for *super-tact* on a *national* plane.

As regards the victories over Kaledin and Co., I send you warmest greetings, good wishes and congratulations. Hurrah and hurrah! I warmly shake your hand.

Yours,
Lenin

First published in 1924 in the book by V. A. Antonov-Ovseyenko, *Zapiski o grazhdanshoi voine* (Notes on the Civil War), Vol. I

Printed from the original

SPEECHES AT A MEETING OF THE C.C. OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.) JANUARY 24 (FEBRUARY 6), 1918[559]

MINUTES

1

Comrade Lenin believes that the agenda of the Congress should consist of the Party Programme, the question of peace, and tactical questions.

2

N. I. Bukharin, Y. M. Sverdlov and J. V. Stalin table concrete proposals for the agenda of the Party's Seventh Congress.

Comrade Lenin agrees with all the previous speakers, but he is worried by the vast number of October Bolsheviks in the Party, a fact which may hinder the Congress in working out a consistent programme.

3

Comrade Lenin considers it essential that in admitting members a mandatory inscription be made concerning the date of joining the Party: before Oct. 25 or after; and that it is essential that new members recognise the mandatory nature of the tactics which the Party found correct in relation to the October Revolution.

First published in 1929 in the book: *Protokoly TsK R.S.D.R.P. August 1917-fevral 1918* (Minutes of the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. August 1917-February 1918)

Printed from the manuscript minutes

TELEGRAM TO M. A. MURAVYOV

Commander-in-Chief Muravyov, Kiev

February 14, 1918

In the absence of orders from Antonov to the contrary, act as energetically as possible on the Rumanian front, by agreement with Rakovsky and his commission.

Lenin

Sent from Petrograd to Kiev

First published in 1924 in the book by V. A. Antonov-Ovseyenko, *Zapiski o grazhdanshoi voine* (Notes on the Civil War), Vol. I

Printed from the original

TO COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF M. A. MURAVYOV, TO THE SUPREME RUMANIAN BOARD, TO THE PEOPLE'S SECRETARIAT OF THE UKRAINIAN REPUBLIC, FOR V. A. ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO

To Yudovsky, Rumcherod,[560] for transmission to Commander-in-Chief Muravyov, Odessa, for Commander-in-Chief Muravyov, to the Supreme Rumanian Board, to the People's Secretariat of the Ukrainian Republic for Antonov

In view of the serious situation on the Russo-Rumanian front and the need for urgent support of the revolutionary detachments in Bessarabia, Commander-in-Chief Muravyov and his northern army are seconded to the Supreme Rumanian Board. We do not doubt for a moment that the valiant heroes of the liberation of Kiev will do their revolutionary duty without delay.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on February 17, 1918

First published in 1924 in the book by V. A. Antonov-Ovseyenko, *Zapiski o grazhdanshoi voine* (Notes on the Civil War), Vol. I

Printed from the telegraph form text

SPEECHES AT A MEETING OF THE C.C. OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.) FEBRUARY 18, 1918[561]

MINUTES

1

We cannot postpone discussion of the question, because if the Germans do not accept our offers of peace, we carry on a revolutionary war.

2

There is one point for achieving united tactics. If the offensive becomes a fact, then we sign peace. It is possible that the Germans have done a deal with the French, and this is a question not of Poland but of overthrowing the Soviet Government.

Indefinite tactics now are out of place. We have to act. If the Germans carry on a war by agreement with the French, then we carry on a revolutionary war. We have to demonstrate this clearly to the people. That is why we need either an armistice or a peace. We may muddle people's understanding. We shall be unable to hold the masses. There is no reply to the radio message. Everyone will have to fight. It will be a different grouping. To drag on means to obscure the understanding of the masses. They are losing their land. We shall have concluded peace with the people, not with imperialism.

3

We must send out information all over Russia to prepare.

First published in 1929 in the book: *Protokoly TsK R.S.D.R.P. August 1917-fevral 1918* (Minutes of the C.C. of the R.S.D.R.P. August 1917-February 1918)

Printed from the manuscript minutes

SPEECHES AT A MEETING OF THE C.C. OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.) FEBRUARY 23, 1918[562]

MINUTES

1

Comrade Lenin believes that the policy of revolutionary phrases is at an end. If this policy is continued, he will resign both from the government and from the Central Committee. An army is needed for a revolutionary war, and it does not exist. That means the terms must be accepted.

2

Comrade Lenin. Some have reproached me for coming out with an ultimatum. I put it as a last resort. It is a mockery for our Central Committee members to talk of an international civil war. There is a civil war in Russia, but not in Germany. Our agitation remains. We are agitating not by words, but by the revolution. That too remains. Stalin is wrong when he says that we need not sign. These terms must be signed. If you don't sign them, you will sign the Soviet power's death warrant within three weeks. These terms do not infringe on the Soviet power. I have not the slightest hesitation. I put the ultimatum not in order to withdraw it. I don't want revolutionary phrases. The German revolution has not yet matured. This will take months. The terms must be accepted. If there is another ultimatum later, it will be in a new situation.

3

Comrade Lenin. I also consider it essential to prepare for a revolutionary war. The treaty can be interpreted, and we shall interpret it. The demobilisation there is in a purely military sense. Before the war, we also had an army. A revolutionary war needs serious preparation. I do not doubt for a second that the masses stand for peace.

4

Lenin proposes the following for voting: (1) Are the German proposals to be accepted immediately? (2) Is a revolutionary war to be prepared for immediately? (3) Is a poll of Soviet electors in Petrograd and Moscow to be taken immediately?

5

Comrade Lomov asks whether Vladimir Ilyich allows of silent or open agitation against signing the peace.

Comrade Lenin replies in the affirmative.

6

In view of the statement by several members of the C.C. that they are resigning all their responsible Soviet and Party posts, Y. M. Sverdlov proposes that members of the C.C. remain at their posts until the Congress, and carry on their agitation within the Party.

Comrade Lenin is in favour of discussing the question raised by Sverdlov as, first, there are three days to go before the signing and, second, twelve days for ratification. Consequently, it will be possible to canvass the Party and, if it comes out against signing, ratification will not follow; but as time is short today, he suggests postponing the question until tomorrow.

7

Comrade Stalin asks whether resignation from their posts does not in effect mean withdrawal from the Party.

Comrade Lenin points out that resignation from the C.C. does not mean withdrawal from the Party.

8

Comrade Lenin suggests that the comrades should leave the sessions during the voting and should not sign any documents, so as not to bear any responsibility, but should not give up their work in the Council.

First published in 1922
in N. Lenin (V. Ulyanov),
Sobraniye Sochinenii
(Collected Works), Vol. XV

Printed from
the manuscript minutes

TELEGRAM TO V. A. ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO

Urgent. To People's Commissar Antonov,
wherever he may be

Take Rostov today at all costs.

Lenin

Written on February 23, 1918

First published in 1924 in the book by V. A. Antonov-Ovseyenko, *Zapiski o grazhdanshoi voine* (Notes on the Civil War), Vol. I

Printed from the telegraph form text

TELEGRAM TO V. A. ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO

Antonov, Rostov-on-Don, wherever he may be

Our warmest greetings to all the dedicated fighters for socialism, and greetings to the revolutionary Cossacks. In reply to your telegram from Novocherkassk[563] we inform you: let a plenipotentiary congress of urban and rural Soviets of the whole Don Region work out its own draft land law, and submit it to the Council of People's Commissars for endorsement. That will be better. I have nothing against the autonomy of the Don Region. The geographical boundaries of this autonomous region must be fixed by agreement with the population of the neighbouring zone and the autonomous republic of the Donets Basin. We cannot send you a delegate, everyone here has his hands full. We ask you to represent the Council of People's Commissars, or to appoint someone at your discretion.

Lenin, *Stalin*

Written on February 28, 1918
Published on March 20 (7), 1918 in the newspaper *Donskiye Izvestia* No. 1

Printed from the telegraph form text

MATERIAL FOR THE FOURTH (EXTRAORDINARY) ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF SOVIETS[564]

1

NOTES FOR A SPEECH AT A MEETING OF THE COMMUNIST GROUP OF THE CONGRESS

1. The turning-point: Oct. 25, 1917-Feb. 17, 1918 and later
2. Peace at Brest-Litovsk and now ... (Trotsky versus the supporters of revolutionary war"....
3. "Breathing space."
4. Economic burdens ... but what about Belgium?
5. "Betrayal."
   A phrase.
   2 versus 10 and 200,000 versus 1,000,000.[565]
6. The Ukraine and Finland.
7. The standpoint of the peasant masses, the petty bourgeoisie, the declassed soldier....
8. Class forces and the "obnoxious peace". What about the Russian bourgeoisie?
9. The "leftism" of the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries.
10. Even "despair"?
11. Using the "crack", "contradictions", the strategic deployment of forces: Germany—Britain—Japan—America....

N.B.: *11 bis*: *Tilsit*. Peace and war, their interconnection.

12. Biding time, retreating and waiting.

What for? Who for? The international revolution.

13. Building up forces. *For* "defence of the fatherland". Discipline and discipline (up to and including draconic measures).

Written on March 12-18, 1918

First published in 1929 in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

2

NOTES FOR A REPORT ON THE RATIFICATION OF THE PEACE TREATY

1. Understand the turning-point in history, the shift in the balance of classes and social forces.

2. The "independence" of the Russian revolution, Feb. 23 (1917)-Feb. 11 (1918). (The causes.)

3. Triumphal advance: Oct. 25 (1917)-Feb. 11 (1918)

4. Imperialism: an epoch of heavy defeats, retreats Not the same enemy. No army.

5. An "extra-historical" statement of the question. The bourgeoisie and its yes-men.

6. Who disorganised the army?

7. The Vinnichenkos = the Kerenskys + the Tseretelis + the Chernovs.

8. Provocation and trap. "Glad of the Germans" ....

9. Despair and phrase-mongering. Phrase-mongering and bragging: among the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries [in our ranks < 1/10th (453 and 36 and 8 = 497)][566].... (The demoralised army....)

10. Compare 1907 and 1918.

11. The peasantry and phrase-mongering.

12. "Breathing space." *Defence of the fatherland.*

13. 2 and 10; 200,000 and 1,000,000.

14. The Tilsit peace and a weak German people (*only* weak and backward). Peace and war in their interconnection.

15. We are waiting, while retreating, for a *different* ally: the international socialist proletariat.

Written on March 13 or 14, 1918

First published in 1929 in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

TO THE TASHKENT CONGRESS OF SOVIETS OF THE TURKESTAN TERRITORY, TO THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS OF THE TURKESTAN TERRITORY, FOR IBRAHIMOV AND KLEVLEYEV[567]

You can rest assured, comrades, that the Council of People's Commissars will support autonomy for your territory on Soviet principles; we welcome your initiatives, and are deeply convinced that you will cover the whole territory with a network of Soviets, and will act in close contact with the Soviets already in existence.

We ask you to send the commission for the calling of a Constituent Congress of Soviets, which you have undertaken to organise, to us here in Moscow, in order to work out together the question of defining the relations between the plenipotentiary organ of your territory and the Council of People's Commissars.

In greeting your Congress, we hope that you will be equal to the tasks imposed on it by history.

Moscow, April 22, 1918

Lenin and Stalin

Published on May 5 (April 22), 1918 in the newspaper *Shchit Naroda* No. 85

Printed from a typescript copy

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

June 14, 1918

Comrade Zinoviev,

Every effort must be made to send *hundreds* of agitators to the countryside from Petrograd immediately. This is particularly important now, on the eve of the Congress of Soviets,[568] and the *whole* military and food situation demands it even more insistently. We shall find the money, don't spare the cost. We have talked about this in detail with Svidersky (and Tsyurupa). Concentrate on this.

Greetings,
Lenin

Sent from Moscow to Petrograd

First published in part on January 21, 1925 in *Pravda* No. 17

Published in full in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*

Printed from the original

TELEGRAM TO COMMISSAR IVANOV

Commissar Ivanov, Voronezh

The Left S.R. revolt and Muravyov's betrayal have been completely liquidated. Strong aid to the Czechoslovak front is needed.[569] All efforts on the Kuban front should be concentrated on full and reliable protection of the line from Tikhoretskaya to Tsaritsyn and from Tsaritsyn to the north, not on further advance.[570] Mekhonoshin, Kobozev and Blagonravov are temporarily in command on the Czechoslovak front.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on July 11, 1918
Sent from Moscow to Voronezh

First published in 1927
in the journal *Krasnoarmeyets*
No. 21 (114)

Printed from the original

TELEGRAM TO YEVGENIA BOSCH

To the Gubernia Executive Committee, Penza
A copy for Yevgenia Bogdanovna Bosch

Your telegram received.[571] Essential to organise a reinforced guard of selected and reliable people, to carry out a campaign of ruthless mass terror against the kulaks, priests and whiteguards; suspects to be shut up in a detention camp outside the city. Get the office working.[572] Telegraph fulfilment.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on August 9, 1918
Sent from Moscow to Penza

First published in 1924
in the journal
Proletarskaya Revolutsia
No. 3 (26)

Printed from the original

TELEGRAM TO THE PENZA GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

August 12, 1918

Bosch, Gubernia Executive Committee, Penza

Your telegram received. Extremely surprised at the absence of information on the course and outcome of the suppression of the kulak rising in the five volosts. I do not want to think that you have displayed tardiness or weakness in crushing it, and in the model confiscation of all property, particularly grain, of the rebel kulaks.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Sent from Moscow to Penza

First published in 1924 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolutsia* No. 3 (26)

Printed from the original

TELEGRAM TO M. S. KEDROV

Secret

Kedrov, Gubernia Executive Committee, Vologda

The harmfulness of your departure has been shown by the absence of any leader when the British began their advance up the Dvina.

Now you must intensively make up for lost ground, contact Kotlas, send aviators there immediately and organise the defence of Kotlas at all costs.[573]

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on August 12, 1918
Sent from Moscow to Vologda

First published in 1926
in the journal
Bolshevistskaya Mysl
No. 11 (13)

Printed from the original

TO N. I. MURALOV

August 29, 1918

Comrade Muralov,

Please give your assistance to the bearer, Comrade Malyshev, who is organising supplies of explosives for the group going to Kotlas. *The matter is supremely urgent.*

It is necessary that explosives should be got *without loss of time* from Vyazma (Malyshev will leave for Vyazma *this very day*, with a warrant from you).

You must also send a telegram to Kursk summoning Comrade *Sobolev*, a demolition instructor.

The demolition group require one carriage (fast) to Kotlas.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1926
in the journal
Sputnik Politrabotnika
No. 15 (45)

Printed from the original

DECISION OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS ON REPORTS BY THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIATE[574]

That all Commissariats be instructed to draw up within one week a brief report, from two to five printed pages, on their work from Oct. 25, 1917.

That these reports be drawn up in the most popular language, with special attention to facts on the role of workers' organisations and representatives of the proletariat in government, to large-scale measures of a socialist nature and the struggle to break the resistance of the bourgeoisie.

That the same instruction be given to the All-Russia Extraordinary Commission.

That the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee be requested to take the same decision as regards its activity (with special emphasis on the Constitution and the results of the congresses of Soviets).

Written on August 29, 1918

First published in 1928 in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the original

TO M. F. VLADIMIRSKY

October 27, 1918

Comrade Vladimirsky (or any other member of the Presidium of the Moscow Soviet)

The bearers are comrades from Vyborg. Please receive them *immediately*. Moreover, they point out the *excessively formalistic procedures* for admission to the Soviet building, the incredible captiousness of the guard, and the writing of absolutely unnecessary special passes. Can't this business be simplified?

Greetings,
Lenin

First published in 1924 in the book: *Ob Ilyiche. Sbornik statei, vospominany, dokumentov i nekotorykh materialov* (About Ilyich, A Collection of Articles, Reminiscences, Documents, and Some Material), Priboi Publishers

Printed from the original

RADIOGRAM FROM MOSCOW TO ONE AND ALL

To all frontier Soviets

According to the latest information, German soldiers have arrested a delegation of German generals on their way to negotiate an armistice. German soldiers have entered into direct negotiations with French soldiers. Kaiser Wilhelm has abdicated. Chancellor Prince of Baden has resigned. The new Chancellor is to be the government Social-Democrat Ebert. General strike has swept all major cities of Southern Germany. The whole German navy is on the side of the revolution. All German ports in the North Sea and the Baltic are in the hands of the revolutionary navy. We have received from the Kiel Council of Soldiers' Deputies a radio message, addressed to the international proletariat, to the effect that the German navy is flying the red flag and that funeral services for those who fell for liberty are to be held today. All this will very probably be concealed from the German soldiers on the Eastern Front and in the Ukraine. By all the means at your disposal bring these facts to the knowledge of the German soldiers.

Chicherin
People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs
Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Moscow
By radio

Written on November 10, 1918

First published in *Izvestia* No. 256, November 6-7, 1927

Printed from the *Izvestia* text, collated with a typescript copy

TO GIACINTO M. SERRATI

December 4, 1918

Dear Comrade Serrati,

My best wishes to you and to Comrade Lazzari. We all hope that a proletarian revolution will soon begin in Italy, and other Entente countries.

Most cordial greetings.

Regards to Italian comrades.

Yours ever,
Lenin

First published in 1920
in *Almanacco socialista italiano*,
Milan

Printed from the miscellany text,
Translated from the Italian

IN MEMORY OF COMRADE PROSHYAN

I became acquainted with Comrade Proshyan and learned to value his co-operation during our work together in the Council of People's Commissars, at the end of last year and the beginning of the present year, when the Left S.R.s. were in alliance with us. Proshyan stood out for his deep devotion to the revolution and to *socialism*. It could not be said of all the Left S.R.s that they were socialists, and this could even hardly be said of most of them. But this had to be said about Proshyan, because, in spite of his loyalty to the ideology of the Russian Narodniks, a non-socialist ideology, you saw in Proshyan a deeply convinced socialist. In his own way, not through Marxism, not starting with the idea of the class struggle of the proletariat, did this man become a socialist; and I was able to observe more than once, when working together with him in the Council of People's Commissars, how Comrade Proshyan would resolutely side with the Bolsheviks, the Communists, against his fellow Left Socialist-Revolutionaries, when they expressed the standpoint of the petty proprietors and took a negative attitude to communist measures in the sphere of agriculture.

I particularly recall a conversation with Comrade Proshyan not long before the Brest peace. It seemed then that there no longer remained any substantial differences between us. Proshyan began speaking to me about the need for our parties to amalgamate, saying that the Left S.R.s most remote from communism (at that time, the word was not yet commonly used) had noticeably, and very strongly, drawn closer to it during the period of our work together in the Council of People's Commissars. I was reserved

as regards Proshyan's proposal, and called it premature, but did not at all deny that we had come closer in our practical work.

The Brest peace brought about a complete divergence, and from divergence, given Proshyan's revolutionary consistency and convictions, there could not but develop direct, even armed struggle. I must admit I did not in any way expect matters to go as far as an insurrection, or such facts as the betrayal of Commander-in-Chief Muravyov, a Left S.R. But the example of Proshyan revealed how deep the roots of *patriotism* were even in the most sincere and convinced socialists from among the Left S.R.s, how differences in the general principles underlying men's world views had inevitably shown themselves at a difficult turning-point in history. The subjectivism of the Narodniks led to a fatal error on the part of even the best of them, who let themselves be blinded by the spectre of monstrous strength, that of German imperialism. Any other struggle against that imperialism except an insurrectionary one, and moreover immediately, that very minute, without any consideration of the objective conditions of the international situation and our own, seemed in the light of a revolutionary's duty absolutely intolerable. It was the effect of the very same mistake which in 1907 made the Socialist-Revolutionaries unconditionally "boycott" the Stolypin Duma. But in the circumstances of hot revolutionary battles the error took a more cruel revenge, and pushed Proshyan on to the path of armed struggle against the Soviet power.

Nevertheless up to July 1918 Proshyan succeeded in doing more to strengthen the Soviet power than he did after July 1918 to undermine it. And in the international situation created after the German revolution, a new approach by Proshyan to communism—a firmer one than before—would have been inevitable but for his untimely death.

N. Lenin

Pravda No. 277,
December 20, 1918

Printed from the *Pravda* text

1919

TELEGRAM TO THE KURSK EXTRAORDINARY COMMISSION

January 6, 1919

Kursk
Cheka

Copy to the Gubernia Executive Committee

Immediately arrest Kogan, a member of the Kursk Central Purchasing Board, for refusing to help 120 starving workers from Moscow and sending them away empty-handed. This to be published in the newspapers and by leaflet, so that all employees of the central purchasing boards and food organisations should know that formal and bureaucratic attitudes to work and incapacity to help starving workers will earn severe reprisals, up to and including shooting.

Lenin

Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Sent from Moscow to Kursk

Published on January 11, 1919 in the newspaper *Volna* (Kursk) No. 5

Printed from the original

REPLY TO A PEASANT'S QUESTION[575]

Izvestia of February 2 carried a letter from a peasant, G. Gulov, who asks a question about the attitude of our Workers' and Peasants' Government to the middle peasantry, and tells of rumours that Lenin and Trotsky are not getting on together, and that there are big differences between them on this very question of the middle peasant.

Comrade Trotsky has already replied to that in his "Letter to the Middle Peasants", which appeared in *Izvestia* of February 7. In this letter Comrade Trotsky says that the rumours of differences between him and myself are the most monstrous and shameless lie, spread by the landowners and capitalists, or by their witting and unwitting accomplices. For my part, I entirely confirm Comrade Trotsky's statement. There are no differences between us, and as regards the middle peasants there are no differences either between Trotsky and myself, or in general in the Communist Party, of which we are both members.

In his letter Comrade Trotsky has explained clearly and in detail why the Communist Party and present Workers' and Peasants' Government, elected by the Soviets and belonging to that Party, do not consider the middle peasants to be their enemies. I fully subscribe to what Comrade Trotsky has said.[576]

There is not a single decree (law) or decision of the Soviet government which fails to draw a distinction between the three main groups of peasants. The first group is the poor peasants (proletarians and semi-proletarians, as they are usually called in economic science). They are very numerous. When the landowners and capitalists were in power, the brunt of their yoke fell on the poor peasants. In all the countries of the world, the workers and the rural poor supporting them are the firmest basis for the true

socialist movement. The second group is the kulaks, that is, the rich peasants who exploit the labour of others, either hiring them for work, or lending money at interest, and so forth. This group supports the landowners and capitalists, the enemies of the Soviet power. The third group is the middle peasants. They are not enemies of the Soviet power. They can be its friends; we are working for this, and will bring it about. All the teachers of socialism have always recognised that the workers will have to overthrow the landowners and the capitalists in order to build socialism, but that with the middle peasants an agreement is possible and essential.

Under the landowners and capitalists, only very few of the middle peasants, perhaps one in a hundred, managed to secure a stable welfare, and then only by becoming kulaks, and saddling the poor peasants, whereas the vast majority of the middle peasants inevitably must suffer from poverty and ill-treatment by the rich. That is the case in all capitalist countries.

Under socialism, all workers and all middle peasants to a man can have full and stable welfare, without robbing someone else's labour. No Bolshevik, no Communist, no intelligent socialist has ever entertained the idea of violence against the middle peasants. All socialists have always spoken of agreement with them and of their gradual and voluntary transition to socialism.

Our country has been ruined more than other countries by the criminal four-year war of the capitalists. Everywhere there is ruin and dislocation, lack of goods for sale, and a terrible and tormenting famine in the towns and non-agricultural gubernias. We have to strain every effort to overcome the breakdown, to overcome the famine, to overcome the troops of the landowners and capitalists, who are trying to restore to power the tsar and the rich, the exploiters. In the South, on the Don and in the Ukraine, the white-guards have been beaten, and the road to fuel (coal) and grain is being opened up. A few final efforts, and we shall be saved from the famine. But the destruction left behind by the war is great, and only long and self-sacrificing work by all toiling people can bring our country out on to the road to sustained prosperity.

Two kinds of complaints must be noted among those being voiced by middle peasants. First, there are complaints at the excessively "bossy", undemocratic, and sometimes absolutely disgraceful behaviour of the local authorities, especially in the backwoods. Surely it is more difficult to organise proper control and supervision of the local authorities' work in the countryside, and the worst elements and dishonest people-sometimes worm their way into the ranks of the Communists. Those who, contrary to the laws of the Soviet power, treat the peasants unjustly must be ruthlessly fought, immediately removed and most severely prosecuted. All the efforts of honest workers and peasants are being directed to purging Russia of these "relics" of the landowners' and capitalists' system who allow themselves to behave like "bosses" when, under the laws of our Workers' and Peasants' Republic, they should behave like men elected by the Soviets and set an example of conscientiousness and strict observance of the laws. The Soviet power has already shot quite a few such officials caught, for example, taking bribes, and the struggle against such scoundrels will be carried on to the end.

Another kind of complaint is made against the requisitioning of grain and the strict prohibition of free sale of grain. Our government is fighting inexorably against arbitrary action and breaches of the law. But can we allow free sale of grain? In our ruined country, there is not enough, or barely enough, grain, and in addition the railways have been so spoiled by the war that supplies are going very badly.

When there is not enough grain, the free sale of it means terrific profiteering and inflation of prices up to hundreds of rubles per pood, because a hungry man will give anything for a piece of bread. The free sale of grain in a hungry country means frenzied profiteering by the kulaks, the shameless rich peasants who fill their money-bags out of the people's need and the hunger. The free sale of grain in a hungry country means a victory of the rich over the poor, because the rich will buy grain even at a mad, fantastic price, while the poor will have nothing. The free sale of grain is freedom for the rich to make profits, and freedom for the poor to die. The free sale of grain means a return

to the domination and unbridled power of the capitalists.

No. We don't want to go back, and will not go back, to the restoration of the rule of the capitalists, the rule of money, and freedom to profiteer. We want to go forward to socialism, to the proper distribution of grain among all the working people. All grain surpluses must be handed over to the Soviet state at a fair price; and the state must distribute them equally among the working people. This cannot be achieved all at once, it is not easy to establish such a fair socialist system. It will take a great deal of work and effort, and strict comradely discipline among the workers and peasants, to root out the old, capitalist, freedom to trade, freedom to make profits, freedom to fight, freedom to oppress—a freedom that has covered the whole world with blood.

But this difficult work has now been taken up by millions and millions of workers and peasants. Every honest peasant and worker has realised the importance of socialism, and is persistently fighting for it.

The socialist revolution is growing throughout the world. The power of the capitalists, "freedom to trade", will not return. Socialism will win.

N. Lenin

February 14, 1919

Pravda No. 35,
February 15, 1919

Printed from the original

NOTES ON THE QUESTION OF REORGANISING STATE CONTROL[577]

1) A workers' organ, or an organ enlisting workers' participation, at the centre and in the localities.
2) Voluntary inspectors as a system.
2 bis: Two-thirds women mandatory.
3) Immediate practical tasks:
(α) inspection raids, on citizens' complaints
(β) fight against red tape
(γ) revolutionary measures of struggle against abuses and red tape
(δ) transport
(ε) raising labour productivity
(ζ) increasing food output.

Written on March 8, 1919
First published in 1928 in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*
Printed from the original

DRAFT THIRD CLAUSE OF THE GENERAL POLITICAL SECTION OF THE PROGRAMME (FOR THE PROGRAMME COMMISSION OF THE EIGHTH PARTY CONGRESS)

Bourgeois democracy confined itself to proclaiming formal rights equally applicable to all citizens, e.g., the right of assembly, of association, of the press. At best all legislative restrictions on these points were abolished in the most democratic bourgeois republics. But, in reality, both administrative practices and particularly the economic bondage of the working people always made it impossible for them, under bourgeois democracy, to make any wide use of these rights and liberties.

By contrast, proletarian or Soviet democracy, instead of the formal proclamation of rights and liberties, guarantees them in practice first and foremost to those classes of the population who were oppressed by capitalism, i.e., the proletariat and the peasantry. For this purpose, the Soviet power expropriates from the bourgeoisie premises, printing presses and stocks of paper, and places them at the entire disposal of the working people and their organisations.

The task of the Russian Communist Party is to draw ever wider masses of working people into the exercise of their democratic rights and liberties, and to extend the material possibilities for this.

Written not later than March 20, 1919

First published on April 22, 1956 in *Pravda* No. 113

Printed from the original

TO E. M. SKLYANSKY

A *fierce* telegram must be sent off *today*, over your signature and mine, both to the General Staff and to the *Commander-in-Chief of the Western Front binding them* to develop the *maximum* energy and *speed* in capturing Vilna.

Written on April 24, 1919
First published on September 23, 1925 in *Pravda* No. 217

Printed from the original

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

April 30, 1919

Comrade Zinoviev,

Talking with Comrade Yemelyanov, I was particularly struck by the fact that such best and most reliable Petrograd workers are *wasting* themselves on technical work like road transport.

This is unforgivable! For technical work we can hire and take ninth-rate men and strangers, i.e., those whose honesty is not known. But men like Yemelyanov should be sent *into the countryside*, *into the administration*, into management, into the uyezd executive committees, where honest men are few and far between, where the need for honest men is desperate.

Could we form a *sponsoring group* of workers in Petrograd, consisting of Comrade Yemelyanov and 5 or 10 of his friends, to select 300-600 Petrograd workers, with the most solid references from the Party and the trade unions, for dispatch, singly or in pairs, to uyezd executive committees throughout Russia?

I should support this plan in every possible way. All such men (too old to go to the front) should be taken off technical work and posts *where they can be replaced*, and transferred to *administrative* work in the countryside. Without a group of such absolutely reliable and experienced Petrograd workers we shall not be able to bring about any big improvement in the villages.

Greetings,

Lenin

First published in 1924 in the journal *Krasnaya Letopis* No. 2 (11)

Printed from the original

TELEGRAM TO L. B. KAMENEV[578]

Rakovsky, Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Kiev, for Kamenev

Absolutely essential that you personally, taking along Joffe, if necessary, to help you, should not only verify and expedite but personally bring up the reinforcements to Lugansk and the Donets Basin generally, as otherwise the disaster will undoubtedly be tremendous and scarcely remediable. If you need one, take a mandate from the Kiev Council of Defence. We shall undoubtedly perish *unless we clear the Donets Basin completely in a short time*. Provisionally, until Rostov has been taken, we must be diplomatic with Makhno's troops, sending Antonov there in person, and making him personally responsible for Makhno's troops. Telegraph detailed reply.

Lenin

Written on May 7, 1919

First published in 1925
in the journal
Proletarskaya Revolutsia
No. 6 (41)

Printed from
the decoded text
on the telegraph tape

TELEGRAM TO BELA KUN

Bela Kun, Budapest

Received your letter of April 22 only on May 13. I am sure that in spite of the vast difficulties the proletarians of Hungary will retain power and consolidate it. Greetings to the growing Red Army of the Hungarian workers and peasants. The Entente's ferocious peace will everywhere strengthen sympathy with the Soviet power. Yesterday the Ukrainian forces defeated the Rumanians and crossed the Dniester. I send best greetings to you and to all Hungarian comrades.

Lenin

Written on May 13, 1919

Published in part on May 16, 1919 in Hungarian in the newspaper *Vörös Ujság* No. 83, Budapest

Published in full in Hungarian in 1954 in the book Lenin, "*Magyarországrol. Szemelvények Lenin Müvelböl*", Budapest

Printed from the original

TELEGRAM TO S. A. GETSOV, KHARKOV CHIEF COAL BOARD

To Getsov, Chief Coal Board, Kharkov; copy to Bazhanov; copy to Bogdatyan, Chairman of the Extraordinary Committee for Supplies or Serebrovsky, Kharkov; copy to Bogdatyan, Chairman of the Extraordinary Committee for Supplies, Kiev; copy to Podvoisky, People's Commissar for the Army; copy to Trotsky, Kiev; to Kamenev wherever he may be

General cancellation of mobilisation of workers of the Donets Basin, with the present situation at the front, is absolutely impermissible.[579] The Council of Defence realises the exceptional importance of the Donets Basin, and has therefore decided to defer mobilisation for hewers only, even in those enterprises which for one reason or another are not producing coal at the present time. Retaining the hewers, at any rate, safeguards the coal industry against disaster, and will permit the resumption of coal-getting directly the emergency is over. No other deferments are permissible.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of Defence

Written on May 16, 1919
First published in 1925 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolutsia* No. 6 (41)

Printed from the telegraph form text

TO V. A. AVANESOV[580]

Avanesov, at the State Control Commission, to *arrest* the official who replied in this way.

Lenin

May 20

Written on May 20, 1919
First published in 1956 in the journal *Istorichesky Arkhiv* No. 2

Printed from the original

TO BELA KUN

Coded

Bela Kun, Budapest

We have had a special discussion at the Central Committee of the Party, as a separate item on the agenda, of the question you raised about sending you the comrade you named. We found it impossible to send him, and have sent another who has already left, and is being delayed only for technical reasons; he should soon reach you.

By the way, let me add for myself that you are, of course, right in beginning negotiations with the Entente. They should be begun and carried on; it is necessary to make the fullest possible use of every opportunity to obtain a temporary armistice or peace, in order to give the people a breathing space. But do not trust the Entente powers for a moment. They are deceiving you, and are only attempting to gain time in order to be able to crush you and us.

Try and organise postal communications with us by air.

Best regards,

Lenin

Comrade Chicherin, please have this translated and sent to Bela Kun.

Lenin

June 18

Written on June 18, 1919

First published in English in 1946 in the book *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States*, Vol. 7, Washington

Printed from the original

TO E. M. SKLYANSKY

September 4, 1919

(*Cavalry* is helpless against low-flying planes.)

Comrade Sklyansky,

Could you get some *learned* military X.Y.Z ... to reply (fast) to the following question: aeroplanes against cavalry? *Examples*. Flying *quite low*. *Examples*. So as to issue instructions on the basis of "science" (I read something about this once, but one "practitioner", *I. N. Smirnov*, ridicules it, and says it's nonsense).

?

Lenin

First published on February 23, 1927 in *Pravda* No. 44

Printed from the original

FOREWORD TO G. ZINOVIEV'S ARTICLE "ON THE NUMERICAL COMPOSITION OF OUR PARTY"

Comrade Zinoviev has sent me this article, with the request that I send it on to the Moscow press. I fulfil his request with great pleasure. The article, in my opinion, deserves to be reprinted in all the newspapers. All Party comrades ought to read it, and should everywhere, following the example of Petrograd, start simultaneously both purging the Party of "hangers-on" and intensively recruiting to the Party all the best elements among the mass of workers and peasants.

N. Lenin

Pravda No. 210,
September 21, 1919

Printed from the *Pravda* text

TELEGRAM TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE PETROGRAD SOVIET ON YUDENICH'S OFFENSIVE OCTOBER 14, 1919

The whiteguard offensive is clearly a manoeuvre to reduce our pressure in the South. Beat off the enemy, strike at Yamburg and Gdov. Mobilise office staff for the front. Close down nine-tenths of the departments. Mobilisation of all our forces for the front has never yet been carried out anywhere, although much has been written about it, and there are circular letters and a resolution of the Central Committee.[581] You must drive them off in time so as to resume your help to the South.

Published on October 21, 1924
in *Krasnaya Gazeta* No. 241

Printed from the newspaper text

TO A. S. YENUKIDZE, L. B. KAMENEV AND YELENA STASOVA

Comrades Yenukidze, L. B. Kamenev and Yelena Stasova

I beg you to provide assistance, clothing, *accommodation and food* for the bearer

Comrade *Pyotr Okhrimenko*.[582]

If there are any difficulties involved, please ring me up.

November 12, 1919

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)

First published in 1956 in the journal *Smena* No. 7

Printed from the original

NOTE TO D. I. KURSKY

Kursky[583]

In my opinion, this should be added:

1) drawing up a protocol is *not* as yet a "complaint", but only an exact *record of the beginning* of the dispute. The best way to avoid a complaint is to secure an exact reply or immediate performance;

2) by this means we can and should secure rapid decisions *in substance*, without red tape, namely: by proposing a short method of solution on the spot, proposing it officially ("collect the material in such-and-such a place, I suggest that an order be placed at such-and-such an office, I request that such-and-such be done to avoid bureaucratic delay"); such a statement or request will *greatly* assist the centre in combating red tape;

3) against the Council of People's Commissars and the Council of Defence[584] to go to the All-Russia Central Executive Committee;

4) after endorsement by the C.P.C., publish an *article* (with examples; chew it up) in *Bednota*.

Lenin

Written between December 17 and 23, 1919

First published in 1928 in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the original

NOTE TO D. I. KURSKY[585]

Kursky:

(the evil of red tape)

1) Should be written in more popular language.
2) The text of the law to be reproduced in its entirety.
3) Give *3-4* concrete examples { why? how? this *facilitates* the struggle against red tape }
4) Require *every* gubernia Executive Committee to reprint.
5) Explain that we shall punish *both for ignorance* of and for *failure to apply* this law.

Written between December 17 and 23, 1919

First published in 1928 in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the original

INTRODUCTION TO THE BOOK BY JOHN REED: *TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD*

INTRODUCTION TO THE AMERICAN EDITION

With the greatest interest and with never slackening attention I read John Reed's book, *Ten Days That Shook the World*. Unreservedly do I recommend it to the workers of the world. Here is a book which I should like to see published in millions of copies and translated into all languages. It gives a truthful and most vivid exposition of the events so significant to the comprehension of what really is the Proletarian Revolution and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. These problems are widely discussed, but before one can accept or reject these ideas, he must understand the full significance of his decision. John Reed's book will undoubtedly help to clear this question, which is the fundamental problem of the international labor movement.

Nikolai Lenin

Written at the end of 1919

First published in Russian in 1923 in the book: Dzhon Rid, *10 dnei kotoriye potryasli mir*, Moscow

Printed from the book text

1920

SPEECH AT A MEETING OF THE COMMUNIST GROUP IN THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS MARCH 15, 1920[586]

MINUTES

Comrades,

Comrade Lozovsky said that Comrade Bukharin and I will be partly in agreement with him. That is true. You have written the theses, but what are you defending? Then you must strike out your theses, because they say: "as a basic principle", but we do not take practice as our point of departure. So write that down, then. What in that case remains of your theses? Today I had occasion to be at a meeting of the water transport workers, and to argue there, and Comrade Ishchenko said: "In any case, there is a guarantee that we shall put the question as practical men." All right then, put that down; but what you have written is something different. You have written: "as a basic principle". Where is your justification, who is defending it? No one. They edge away. Write that down, and then half our differences will disappear. And after all, what you have written is untrue: where do you answer the argument which is put forward against collective management; where is the participation of the broad masses, with three, five or seven workers taking part in the collegiums? Do you want participation by the broad masses or don't you? Of course, those who don't want it are to be thrown out, but that is no argument. You say, the "broad non-Party masses of workers". There are no such masses in a single col-

legium: it's not true, and that's no way to reason. That is not the system you need to draw in the broad non-Party masses: you have to train, to promote, to enliven. How many workers have the Central Committee of the textile workers and others put forward? How many of them have been promoted and how many demoted during the last three months? Give me figures, and then I will say: there are the people. It's childish to write "principles": after studying it for two years, all you have written are princi-- ples—people will laugh. Here your argument does not correspond to your conclusion: participation of the broad masses is assured by a collegium of seven, or of three, persons. People will laugh at it. That is my first objection.

Secondly, I refer you to the bourgeoisie. Whom shall we learn from, if not the bourgeoisie? How did they manage? They managed as a class when it was the ruler, but didn't it appoint managers? We haven't yet caught up with them in their degree of development. They knew how to rule as a class, and to manage through anyone you please individually, entirely in their own interests; at the top they had a small collegium and they didn't discuss basic principles and didn't write such resolutions. They had all power in their hands, and regarded as competent the one who knew his job. The workers have not yet reached that point, and in order to win we must give up our old prejudices. The rule of the working class is reflected in the constitution, the ownership and in the fact that it is we who are running things, while management is quite another matter, it is a question of skill, a question of experience. The bourgeoisie understood this perfectly, but we have not yet realised it. Let's get down to learning. We have already said here that we must hold power firmly in our hands, but we haven't yet learned how to manage; we have to do a great deal to learn the business of management.

My third argument: competence. How can you show that it is possible to manage without being competent, to manage without full knowledge, without knowledge of the science of management? It is ridiculous! What sort of system is it? Why all the words that you have spoken here? In order to manage, one must know the job and be a

splendid administrator. Where does it say that for this reason we need collective management? The fact that we have few experienced workers proves the contrary; what follows is that collective management is intolerable. In that case, adopt theses in which you say: keep a commissar or a commission, etc., attached to every expert. So long as we lack the principle of competence and respect for the expert, we remain at the primitive level. In that way we shall never create any industrial front. Unity of will! Without this there is no dictatorship at the front, but dawdling. You know it is a typical result, that there is friction there, not management. Appoint an expert with experience; but we know by now that when we combine a competent person with an incompetent one in a collegium, we create a multitude of wills and complete confusion. That is my fifth argument.* Everyone is writing resolutions about each person being answerable for his own job. But where is this being carried out? Let them say: where did we divide responsibility according to that principle? We have been learning for two years how to run the state, and still write: "the basic principle." This is ridiculous, this is on the second-form level; but let's have your experience, and we shall see from it to what extent you are competent people and where the lack of competence tells. They say that under the artillery department the works managements were poor. That is the example Lozovsky and Tomsky have quoted. When was this? Comrade Lozovsky, we have to reckon with the condition of the Soviet Republic. What did we begin with, who was at the head? Krylenko, Dybenko and Podvoisky, before we had Trotsky—and that was our collective management. And if Kolchak and Denikin lambasted us, why did they? Because while we had seven men in charge, we had to learn for two years, and after that we went over to one-man management. Do we have to reckon with this, or not? Of course, it's only a trifle, you've just taken the two years' history of the Republic and crossed it out. Why? You don't like it, do you? Do it all over again. And what about Rykov: he was appointed Extraordinary Plenipoten-

* Evidently there was a fourth argument against collective management, but it did not find reflection in the minutes.—*Ed.*

tiary for Soviet Defence, and Rykov began dragging things out of the mess by himself. You don't know your own history, the history of your Supreme Economic Council and of the Soviet Republic. History tells us that from collective management by the workers we went over to management by tens, we broke our necks, and Kolchak lambasted us, and it was a good thing he did, because we learned something thereby, we learned that collective management must be held in a tight grip. We have described four systems: accept these four systems,[587] accept the C.C. theses. Then you will be taking your stand on the groundwork of the two years' history of the Soviet power, of its experience, and not on arguments which are primitive, which will muddle you ...* for an adult worker, who is not afraid of any expert and says, "if you put experienced people in charge, our machinery will run". That is how an adult workman reasons, while the timid ones say: "I'm afraid that I shall be left without an expert." That is a sign of weakness. Stop whining, and be your age.

First published in 1924 in the book: N. Lenin (V. I. Ulyanov), *Statyi i rechi po voprosam professionalnogo dvizheniya* (Articles and Speeches on Questions of the Trade Union Movement), issued by the All-Russia Central Council of Trade Unions

Printed from the book text, collated with the stenographic report

* Passage not clear.—*Ed.*

TO V. P. MILYUTIN

We cannot tolerate this indefiniteness *for a single day*. If anyone lodges a protest, raise it *immediately in the C.P.C.* (otherwise you will be to blame).

Have the German delegates *signed* a paper that we have informed them that we *do not guarantee* food, clothing or housing better than for the other *and rank-and-file* workers of Russia?

Written on April 23, 1920

First published in 1924 in the journal *Prozhektor* No. 4 (26)

Printed from the original

POSTSCRIPT TO A RADIO MESSAGE OF MAY 6, 1920[588]

Entirely supporting this statement, and the radio message of March 16, 1920, sent by Comrade Milyutin, I request that instructions be given that *any* delegation from foreign workers coming to Russia should, without fail, sign a statement that the content of these radio messages and my present postscript *for the information* of the workers abroad has been *brought to their knowledge*. The foreign workers must know the truth, that in settling here they are accepting privation.

May 6, 1920

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Published in 1933 in the Second and Third editions of V. I. Lenin, *Sobraniya Sochineny* (Collected Works), Vol. XXIX

Printed from the original

TO S. I. BOTIN[589]

11:30 p.m. June 4

Comrade Botin,

When you called on me today I had only two minutes, because I had to go back to an important meeting.

Now I have a quarter of an hour free, and therefore can (and must) tell you in more detail and more clearly that mistakes have obviously been made, and that you should frankly, honestly and resolutely repudiate these mistakes. Otherwise a most important undertaking will be ruined.

The mistake was, firstly, that there was distrust of the "expert", which prevented his being told *everything* at once and speedy organisation of the *experiment*; secondly, that the "spade" or preparatory work was done by you personally, which distracted you from the *real* work, when the whole mass of the "spade", i.e., preparatory, work *must* be passed on to the mechanics, assembly-men, electricians, etc., of whom we can find a *dozen*. And to separate your *real* work from the preparatory or auxiliary jobs, the *constant* advice of an "expert" is necessary.

Now you have promised me to have full trust in the "expert", and I believe that you have been entirely convinced of his Party attitude and his absolute loyalty to the revolution. So I must ask you to fulfil your promise to me in its *entirety* (otherwise the mistakes will be inevitably *repeated*). Tomorrow morning, therefore, *show everything to the "expert" and tell him how matters stand* (while your *assistants* are bringing up the cars and doing the preparatory work). Then, together with the "expert", the *experiments* will be carried through without further delays.

Please reply to me that you promise to do this.

Best wishes,

Lenin

Written on June 4, 1920

First published on January 21, 1927 in *Krasnaya Gazeta* No. 17

Printed from the original

TO THE STATE PUBLISHING HOUSE AND TO Y. A. PREOBRAZHENSKY AND N. I. BUKHARIN

A vast amount of material, *particularly on the foreign policy* of the Entente, is published *every week* in our newspapers and in foreign ones (not only communist, but also *bourgeois* papers of *various* countries).

This material (see also the *Bulletin* of the People's Commissariat for *Foreign Affairs*) is lost for international communist agitation; yet it is extremely valuable.

I suggest that a committee be set up to summarise this material and publish *monthly* booklets.

The content: the *facts* of the foreign policy of the Entente (plunder; wars; insurrections; *financial* strangulation).

The number of copies: as small as possible, since the main aim is translation into *other languages*.

A subcommittee of a few professors should (under strict control) collect *all* that is valuable, *particularly from the bourgeois newspapers* (which best of all *expose* their "rivals").

A committee of *Party* comrades will read the professors' manuscripts to correct them, and *make the professors* do that.

Newspapers get lost; booklets will remain, *and will help the foreign comrades*.

Your opinion, please.

August 8, 1920

Lenin

First published in 1924
in the journal
Kniga o Knigakh No. 3

Printed from the original

TO N. I. BUKHARIN

Comrade Bukharin,

I think we *should* publish in Russian De Leon's *Two Pages*, *etc*., with Fraina's foreword and notes[590]. I shall also write a few words

If you agree, *will you give the word* through the State Publishing House.

If you don't, let's discuss it.

Lenin

Written in the late summer of 1920

First published in 1924 in the journal *Zhizn* No. 1

Printed from the original

TO ANNA YELIZAROVA[591]

The main principle of administration, in the spirit of all the decisions of the R.C.P. and the central Soviet institutions, is the following:

—a definite person is fully responsible for some specified work.

I have been doing something (for such-and-such a time), and I am responsible for it. I am hindered by X, who is not the responsible person, who is not in charge.

This means squabbling. This means chaos. This means interference by a person *unsuitable* for responsible work. I demand his *removal*.

Written in the autumn of 1920

First published in 1929 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolutsia* No. 11 (94)

Printed from the original

TO M. N. POKROVSKY

Comrade *M. N. Pokrovsky*

Comrade M. N.,

I congratulate you very much on your success. I was extremely pleased with your new book, *Russian History in Brief Outline*. The presentation and approach are original. It reads with tremendous interest. I think it ought to be translated into the European languages.

Let me make a small remark. To turn it into a *textbook* (and it should become one), it needs to be *supplemented* with a *chronological index*. This is what I mean: do it approximately in this way (1) a column of dates; (2) a column of bourgeois assessments (briefly); (3) a column of *your*, Marxist assessment, *with references to the pages of your book*.

Pupils should know *both* your book *and* the *index*, so that there should be no *superficiality*, so that they should *know the facts*, so that they should learn to compare the old science and the new. What's your opinion about this supplement?

December 5

With communist greetings,

Yours,

Lenin

Written on December 5, 1920

First published in 1928 in the journal *Arkhivnoye Dyelo* No. IV (17)

Printed from the original

TELEGRAM TO FACTORIES MAKING ELECTRIC PLOUGHS[592]

I request that every effort be made to fulfil the order of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture for 22 electric ploughs with spare parts not later than April 1, 1921. Telegraph weekly on the state of fulfilment of the order to Gorbunov, Council of People's Commissars.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on December 31, 1920
First published in 1956 in the journal *Istorichesky Arkhiv* No. 4
Printed from the original

ON POLYTECHNICAL EDUCATION

NOTES ON THESES BY NADEZHDA KONSTANTINOVNA[593]

(Private. Rough draft. *Not to be made public.*
I will think this over once again.)

That is *not* the way to write about polytechnical education: it sounds abstract, for the remote future; current, present-day, deplorable reality *is not taken into account.*

It is necessary

(1) to add one or two theses about the importance of polytechnical education *in principle*

$$\left\{\begin{array}{l}\textit{according to Marx}\\ \textit{according to our R.C.P. Programme}\end{array}\right\}$$

(2) to say clearly that on no account can we renounce the principle and the putting into effect immediately, *so far as is possible*, of education specifically on polytechnical lines.

17th thesis *out*.

On secondary education (12-17) to say:

The Republic's extremely difficult economic situation requires at the present time, unquestionably and immediately,

the fusion* of secondary schools and technical schools,

transformation* of secondary schools into technical schools,

but at the same time, *to avoid transformation into trade schools*, the following exact rules should be laid down:

1) Early specialisation to be avoided; an instruction to be worked out on this.

2) *General educational* subjects to be enlarged in *all* technical schools.

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* (Correction: fuse not the whole secondary school, but from 13-14 years, as *indicated* and *decided* by *educationalists*.)

Annual programmes to be drawn up:

(If there are no such programmes yet, Lunacharsky to be hanged)	Communism History in general " of revolutions " of the 1917 revolution	Geography Literature etc.

(3) A *binding* task to be the *immediate* transition to *polytechnical* education or, more accurately, immediate realisation of a number of *steps to polytechnical education*, feasible at present, such as:

Jointly with Goelro

a) visit to a power station, the nearest one, and a number of lectures with experiments there; *a number of practical jobs*, any that are possible with electricity; work out at once detailed programmes (for 1 visit; for a course of 5, 10 lectures; of 1, 2 months, etc.);

b) the same to *every decently* organised *state farm*;

c) the same to *every decently* organised *works*;

Jointly with Goelro

one, and a number of lectures with ex-

d) mobilisation (for lectures on electricity and polytechnical education, taking charge of the practical work, excursions, etc.) of *all* engineers, agronomists, all graduates from university physics and mathematics faculties;

e) organisation of small museums on polytechnical education, mobile exhibitions on trains, steamers. etc.

This is of supreme importance. We are beggars. We need joiners, fitters *immediately*. *Unquestionably*. *All* must become joiners, fitters, etc., *but* with such-and-such an addition of general educational and polytechnical minimum knowledge.

The task of the secondary school (more accurately: of the upper classes of the secondary school, 12-17 age group) is to turn out

a *joiner*,
a *carpenter*,
a *turner*, and so forth,

who knows his job thoroughly, who is fully capable of becoming a skilled man and has been trained for this in practice, *but with this addition*, *however*, that this "craftsman"

should have a *broad general education* (should have a minimum *grounding* in such-and-such sciences: which exactly to be indicated);

should be a Communist (indicate exactly *what* he should know);

should have a polytechnical outlook and the foundations (*beginnings*) *of polytechnical education*,

(Grinko has evidently overdone it to the point of stupidity, *rejecting* polytechnical education [maybe, partly, O. Y. Schmidt too].[594] *This to be corrected*.)

namely:

(aa) *fundamental* conceptions of electricity (define precisely which),

(bb) the application of electricity to the *engineering* industry,

(cc) ditto the *chemical* industry,

(dd) basic idea of the plan for electrification of the R.S.F.S.R.

(ee) a visit to a power station, a works, a state farm *not less than 1-3* times,

(ff) *such-and-such* foundations of agricultural science, etc. *The minimum of knowledge* to be worked out *in detail*.

Written at the end of 1920

First published in 1929 in the journal *Na Putyakh k Novoi Shkole* (Towards a New School) No. 2

Printed from the original

1921

NOTES FOR A SPEECH AT THE TENTH CONGRESS OF THE R.C.P.(B.) ON THE SUBSTITUTION OF FOOD REQUISITIONING BY A TAX[595]

NOTES FOR A SPEECH ON THE SUBSTITUTION OF FOOD REQUISITIONING BY A TAX

1. General political significance of this question:=the question of *peasant* (petty-bourgeois) *counter-revolution*.
   Such counter-revolution is already facing us.
2. Theoretical excursion
   (α) bourgeois or socialist revolution?
   The struggle will decide.
   (β) *The Renegade Kautsky* (p. 102, 1918 edition[596])....
3. Who will overcome whom? 2 different classes.
   The lesson of "Kronstadt"[597]
   — — — in politics: more unity (and discipline) within the Party, more struggle against the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries;
   — — — in the economy: to *satisfy* the *middle* peasantry as fully as possible.
4. All the peasantry (almost) has become middle. "Poor Peasants' Committees.[598]
5. What *economic* satisfaction can we give the middle peasantry? The petty commodity producer?
   N. B. (α) to give freedom of *turnover*, freedom to trade (=freedom of capitalism);
   (β) to obtain *commodities* for this purpose.

in the press smooth out "inter-relations between the proletariat and the peasantry" smooth out in the press

6. "Freedom of turnover"=freedom to trade=freedom of capitalism.
   Back to capitalism?
   Our too hasty, rigid, unprepared "communism" was necessitated by the *war* and the impossibility of either obtaining commodities or setting the factories going.
   There are also a number of other possible transitions. The "rope" can be given *more* slack, *without allowing any break in it*; it can be "slackened", "eased out".
7. ||N.B. Co-operation. *Cancellation* of the resolution of the Ninth Congress. Draft of a new resolution[599] (to manoeuvre more freely) || *Co-operation*=Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks politically economically the best form of free turnover ||
8. How to get the commodities?
   (α) A loan (100 millions in gold)
   (2 proposals).
   (β) Trade agreement with Britain, America.
   (γ) Concessions.
9. State capitalism, a bloc with it, *on top*; freedom of turnover for the peasants, etc., *below*.

   Crutches and a bandage?
   Beaten almost to death.

10. Over-fatigue, exhaustion among the workers too. A breathing space" like that of Brest, an economic breathing space.
    To improve the position of the workers (10 millions in gold and a *special resolution*).[600]
    To improve the position of the peasants and promote *turnover*.
11. Individual exchange of commodities?
    Yes! We shall intensify production, get turnover going, provide a breathing space, strengthen the *petty bourgeoisie*, but even more so *large-scale production* and the *proletariat*. The one is bound up with the other.
12. It is impossible to consolidate large-scale production, the factories and the proletariat, without *to some extent* reviving the petty bourgeoisie and *its* turnover.

13. *A tax in kind.*
Legislative history (briefly)
Oct. 30, 1918.[601]
A different way of putting it now.
Its economic significance:
(1) *An incentive* to the petty producer: raise production. Most important of all.
(2) State monopoly not essential now. (Not all surpluses.)
(3) Precise obligations to the state.
Weakening of bureaucracy.
(4) All "turnover" to be more free, and it is *possible* to rid them of some of the food "detachments".

Crop failure and a good crop	Popov and his "reference notes"[602]	Announce beforehand? Alter after ascertaining the harvest	N.B.

14. *Firmness* of the "apparatus" to be preserved.
But an apparatus *for* policy (=reviewing and correcting relations between classes), and not a policy for the apparatus!
(A good) bureaucracy in the service of policy, and not a policy in the service of (a good) bureaucracy.
The maximum elasticity is now needed, and *for this purpose*, for flexible manoeuvring, the greatest firmness of the apparatus.

Written in the first half of March 1921

First published on March 21, 1931 in *Pravda* No. 79

Printed from the original

ON THE KRONSTADT REVOLT

SUMMARY OF A TALK WITH A CORRESPONDENT
of THE NEW YORK HERALD

I believe that there are only two kinds of government possible in Russia—a Government by the Soviets or a Government headed by a tsar. Some fools or traitors in Kronstadt talked of a Constituent Assembly, but does any man in his senses believe for a moment that a Constituent Assembly at this critical abnormal stage would be anything but a bear garden. This Kronstadt affair in itself is a very petty incident. It no more threatens to break up the Soviet state than the Irish disorders are threatening to break up the British Empire.

Some people in America have come to think of the Bolsheviks as a small clique of very bad men who are tyrannizing over a vast number of highly intellectual people who would form an admirable Government among themselves the moment the Bolshevik regime was overthrown. This is a mistake, for there is nobody to take our place save butcher Generals and helpless bureaucrats who have already displayed their total incapacity for rule.

If people abroad exaggerate the importance of the rising in Kronstadt and give it support, it is because the world has broken up into two camps: capitalism abroad and Communist Russia.

Published in English
on March 15, 1921
in *The New York Herald Tribune*
No. 197

Published in Russian
on March 26, 1921
in *Petrogradskaya Pravda*
No. 67

Printed from
the *Petrogradskaya Pravda* text

TO N. I. BUKHARIN

The question is of theoretical interest *too*:
the proletarian state power
holds *a material base* { factories, railways, foreign trade.

Consequence: in its hands is a *commodity stock* and its *wholesale* (railway) transport.

What is the proletarian state power doing with this stock?

Selling it:

(α) to the workers by hand and brain for money, or for their labour without money;

(β) to the peasants *for grain*.

How does it sell? Through whom?

Through a *commission agent* (= *a trader*) for his percentage on commission.

It gives preference to the co-operatives (trying to organise the entire population in them).

Why is this *impossible*? Yet this is *capitalism* + socialism.

Written in March-April 1921
First published in 1925 in *Lenin Miscellany IV*

Printed from the original

TELEGRAM
TO THE PETROGRAD REGIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, TRADE UNION COUNCIL AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

To three addresses
1) Regional Economic Council, Petrograd
2) Avdeyev and Uglanov, Petrograd Trade Union Council
3) Mikhailov, Executive Committee, Petrograd Soviet

In view of Comrade *Mikhailov*'s complaints about food bonuses not being issued to workmen on electric ploughs,[603] I request that, considering the importance of manufacturing twenty electric ploughs for the autumn ploughing, the question be settled urgently and agreed. May 27.

Let me have an exact reply.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of Labour and Defence

Written on May 27, 1921
First published in 1956 in the journal *Istorichesky Arkhiv* No. 4

Printed from a telegram copy

TO S. G. SAID-GALIEV[604]

To the first question—yes

To the second question—for a long time yet.

To the third—not "pedagogues and nurse-maids", but helpers.

To the fourth—please let me have exact, brief, clear information on the "two tendencies".

Written on July 20, 1921

First published in 1923 in the book: *Chetvyortoye soveshchaniye TsK R.K.P. s otvetstvennymi rabotnikami natsionalnykh respublik i oblastei* (*Stenograficheskiy otchot*) (Fourth Conference of the C.C. of the R.C.P. with Responsible Workers of the National Republics and Regions [Stenographic Report]), Moscow

Printed from the original

NOTE TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV

Comrade Smolyaninov,

This matter should be followed up[605] (especially from the point of view of (1) who is responsible? (2) has it been properly organised as an *independent* undertaking?)

If necessary, consult Korostelyov.

Make a note of this business, and *follow it up*.

August 5

Lenin

Written on August 5, 1921

First published in 1956 in the journal *Istorichesky Arkhiv* No. 4

Printed from the original

TO N. P. GORBUNOV

September 3

Comrade Gorbunov,

I have just signed credentials for the chairman and members of the Extraordinary Commission for Exports of the Council of Labour and Defence[606] (Rykunov, Pyatigorsky, Valayev and Vladimir Spiridonovich Yermakov). It will be your task to study the membership of this Commission and its terms of reference, then systematically to review its activity and its *reports*, and to inform me.

I take advantage of this opportunity to point out to you the need for a proper division of labour between you and Smolyaninov (and Boris Volin, if we succeed in getting him), and proper organisation of the whole work of the office of the Council of People's Commissars find the Council of Labour and Defence.

The functions should be clearly demarcated between yourself and Smolyaninov. Each must "*carry on supervision*" of specified *undertakings* (electric ploughs; Hydropeat Board; collective supply; wage rates, etc., etc.).

For each subject, both "old" and newly arising, there must be systematic filing of all papers and reference notes, so that it should always be easy to find what is required.

In addition to the distribution between you of the business of the "economic front", the most important front at the present time, there should also be a division between you (or you should take them all on yourself) of the non-economic People's Commissariats, "following up" their work on the basis of the reports of the gubernia and uyezd economic conferences and otherwise.

On each "subject" it is necessary from time to time (once a week, once a month or every two months, according to the nature and importance of the business—and then also *suddenly*) to carry out a *check on actual* fulfilment. This is most important and most essential. A record should be made of the results of each check-up.

I think that when there are three of you (you+Smolyaninov+B. Volin or someone else, if we can't have Volin) this will be enough (with a few office assistants) to carry on the whole work, of course on condition of absolute efficiency, on the one hand, and of referring everything that can and should be referred to *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*, to the *State Planning Commission* and other appropriate institutions, on the other. To read the uyezd reports it will be necessary to recruit a number of other people, each being obliged to sign that he has read it, on a sheet attached to each report: we shall draw in both writers and some of the oldest members of the Party, as well as some "experts". When the number of reports arriving begins to grow, you will draw up a list of "helpers in the reading of reports" and establish a *strict* procedure for returning what has been read.

Take a typed copy of this letter, and send it to me, together with your reply about a plan for distributing and carrying on all the work of the Executive Secretary of the C.P.C. and the Council of Labour and Defence.

In particular, it is necessary to *follow up* with *special* attention the work of the Hydropeat Board, both in connection with the orders for peat pumps already placed abroad for the 1922 season, and in connection with the recent communication from R. E. Klasson that he has solved the problem of dehydration.[607]

Then I ask you to investigate the affair of the idleness of the Swedish works, Nydqvist och Holms (*Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* No. 194, p. 4).[608] "*They were slow in getting out*" the order for water-driven turbines! Of which we have a terrible lack! This is the height of disgrace and shamelessness! Make sure to *find out* who is to blame so that we can send these scoundrels to rot in prison.

Find out who *precisely* is *personally* responsible for the work of this factory, and for the orders placed with it.

Altogether, the establishment of specified personal responsibility is the most important job for the Executive Secretary of the C.P.C. and the Council of Labour and Defence. I will require this more strictly than anything else. If it proves necessary, call in immediately for this purpose the People's Commissariat for Justice, and the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, or an "expert" from them.

One more thing. It seems to me that the Scientific and Technical Department of the Supreme Economic Council has fallen asleep altogether. It is essential either to wake it up, or really to set going a drive to disperse these scientific loafers, and establish precisely and without fail who will be responsible for keeping us abreast of European and American techniques sensibly, in good time, practically, not bureaucratically. In particular, Moscow should have one specimen of *all* the most important *latest machines*: to learn and to teach. (Two engineers have told me that in America they make roads with a machine which transforms a dirt road into a hard road simply by the force of its own pressure; how important this would be for our roadless semi-civilised country!)

We must see that the Scientific and Technical Department of the Supreme Economic Council, and its numerous idlers abroad, should stop idling, or that *we should replace them by others*.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on September 3, 1921

First published in 1928
in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the original

TO A. S. KISELYOV

Comrade Kiselyov, Chairman of the Narrow Council
Copies to Comrades Bogdanov, Unshlikht, Avanesov and Kursky

I draw your attention to the note by Mikhels in *Izvestia* No. 203 of Sept. 13.[609]

The author writes that since 1918, 2.5 million poods of most valuable metal cargoes have been lying in store, almost in a swamp, unregistered and unguarded, and are being pilfered and ruined.

I ask you urgently to check up if that is true.

If it is, take all the necessary steps immediately to register, preserve, etc., this property, and to bring those guilty most strictly to book.

Give me a detailed written report, pointing out the names and posts of the persons guilty of this scandal, and make a communication to the Council of Labour and Defence.

I ask you to do all this with the utmost urgency.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on September 15, 1921

First published in 1928
in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the original
signed by Lenin

NOTE TO G. I. KRUMIN[610]

Discuss the following, and let's make a final draft:

That it should be recognised as absolutely necessary to pay particularly great attention to collecting *information* (both through special correspondents, without however appointing *them only for this purpose*, and through all the special representatives of the *Council of Labour and Defence* and the People's Commissariats; and likewise—most important of all—from the *regular* local reports *to the appropriate* bodies), information coming directly from local bodies (works, mines, separate log camps, etc.). The collection and *analysis* of information coming, not only from the Chief Boards, but from these organs operating on the spot, must become one of the most important tasks of *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)

Written on October 7, 1921

First published on January 26, 1924 in the newspaper *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* No. 96

Printed from the newspaper text

TO V. A. AVANESOV

October 15

Comrade Avanesov,

Should not *part* of the shock transport works be handed over by the Supreme Economic Council to the People's Commissariat for Communications (in connection with yesterday's question)?[611]

The consumer must be given an incentive.

Think it over.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

As regards storage. Let's decree:

Workers in stores receive a *bonus* for clearing 1/8, 1/4, 1/2 of the store if they dispatch (deliver) its contents directly to state productive enterprises (factories, state farms, and the like).

The same bonus is given to those drawing these materials from the stores for delivery to the same factories, etc.

Unless there is personal interest, no damned thing will come of it. We must *find a way* to produce incentives.

But Troyanovsky is not clever. *You* will answer for such a "chairman", you personally. Bear that in mind.

You need a clever man on this job.

Lenin

Written on October 15, 1921

First published in part on January 21, 1927 in *Komsomolskaya Pravda* No. 17

Published in full in 1928 in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the original

NOTES FOR A REPORT AT THE SECOND ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF POLITICAL EDUCATION WORKERS[612]

THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY AND THE TASKS OF POLITICAL EDUCATION WORKERS

1. Not in the straightforward Communist fashion, but "by outflanking and with a special approach".
2. Defeat and retreat—for a new advance.
3. Who will be able to take advantage sooner, the capitalists or ourselves?
4. "Personal incentives".... Peasants, workers, experts, a mass of stupidities in our attitude to the latter.
5. *To learn* from capitalists and lessees.
   A serious and *harsh* schooling.
6. *Increase in production* at all costs.

> You are outside the institutions? It is even better that you are outside.

7. *Literacy*. Liquidation of illiteracy, and not in the clouds+and liquidating the Commission for Liquidation. July 19, 1920.[613]
   A disgraceful list of gubernias and uyezds lagging in respect of literacy.
8. *Raising of cultural level*
   (after every great political upheaval, a long time goes into "digestion", "assimilation", training to make use, finishing the rough-hewn work of initial construction).
9. Improvement of legality ... teach people to struggle *in a civilised way* for legality, without at all forgetting

the limits of legality in a revolution. That's not the evil *now*, it's the *multitude* of illegalities.

10. In particular, *graft*. Who has done what to fight graft.

10 bis. Bureaucracy and red tape.

11. Production propaganda, bringing to the fore economic successes *possible* here and now for the peasant, ability to single out, use for propaganda, *follow up* success.

12. *Practical successes in the building* of the economy—that is the point. The touchstone of everything.

Three enemies:

Communist *conceit*—this is the enemy

Illiteracy

Graft

13. ΣΣ Four commandments:

(1) Don't split hairs, don't be pompous in your communism, don't use great words to cover up your slackness, idleness, apathy, backwardness;

(2) Wipe out illiteracy;

(3) Fight graft;

ΣΣ (4) Check all your work, so that words should not remain ΣΣ words, by *practical* successes in economic construction.

Written before October 17, 1921
First published in 1924 in the journal *Molodaya Gvardiya* No. 2-3

Printed from the original

TO D. I. KURSKY ON THE QUESTION OF LEASES AND CONCESSIONS IN AGRICULTURE[614]

Comrade Kursky,

You should go deeply into the question of *leases* and *concessions* in agriculture.

You have not gone into it sufficiently

Prohibition of leasing in principle is of vast importance. He who works the land has possession of it.

There must be no leasing.

But leasing of a *state farm* or "uncultivated land"?

This must be separated out

This is a special type.

Whoever works has possession *here too*. The state is the owner, the tenant of the state farm cultivates. This is, strictly speaking, not a tenant, nor is it a lease in the ordinary sense.

Rather it is transfer of *management*.

It is essential to make a more detailed and circumstantial study of the matter.

1921

Lenin

Written on October 25, 1921

First published in 1924 in the preface by D. I. Kursky to the book *Pyaty Vserossiisky syezd deyatelei sovetskoi yustitsii. Stenograficheskiy otchot* (Fifth All-Russia Congress of Soviet Judiciary. Stenographic Report), Juridical Publishing House of the People's Commissariat for Justice of the R.S.F.S.R., Moscow

Printed from the original

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE R.C.P.[615]

NOTE TO N. I. BUKHARIN

Comrade Bukharin,

I enclose my notes in connection with the theme assigned to you by the Central Committee today. I have been thinking about this theme, and planned:

(α) setting out the *subjects* of dispute, difference and split;

(β) alternation of periods of split and periods of unity;

(γ) alternation of periods of a majority for the Mensheviks and for the Bolsheviks (maybe it could be represented in a diagram?).

Drop me a line about your opinion.

Lenin

December 1

Should not this be taken as a *canvas* for your article? Or something of this kind?

LIST (CHRONOLOGICAL) OF SUBJECTS OF DISPUTE

1903. Oct. The question of organisation: §1 of the Rules.
1904. "The Zemstvo campaign."
1905. May. Attitude to the revolution, to the strike struggle, to the armed uprising.
1905. Aug. Boycott of the Duma, or participation?
1905. Oct.
1905. Dec. Insurrection.
1906. Jan.-Mar. Boycott of the Duma, or participation?

1906. April-May. Attitude to the First Duma.
1906. July. Attitude to the armed uprising
" Sept. " " the underground struggle.
1907. Jan.-Feb. Elections to the Second Duma: Left Bloc, or with the Cadets?
1907. April. Second Duma.
1909-10. Liquidationism.
1911. Plenum of the Central Committee.
Unity or split?
1912. The split (liquidationism).
1913. "Strike fever", etc.
1913. Attitude to the Third Duma.[616]
1914. Attitude to the imperialist war.
1917. Feb.-Mar. Attitude to the February revolution.
1917. May. The Coalition Ministry.
1917. July. The First Congress of Soviets.[617]
1917. Sept. The Kornilov revolt and the Democratic Conference.
1917. Oct.
Soviet power;
terror;
Brest Peace Treaty;
conspiracies and civil war.
1918. Civil war. Attitude of the Mensheviks.
1918. " " " " " "
1919.
1920.
1921.

STRUGGLE OF BOLSHEVIKS AND MENSHEVIKS:
(ALTERNATION OF NUMERICAL RELATIONS)

1903. *The Congress* $\frac{20}{24}$ 44 votes[618] (one party).

1905. Two congresses. *Za* (*Zirka* = approximately) (two parties).[619]
1906. Stockholm Congress. Exactly (number of votes) *one* party.
1907. London Congress. Exactly (number of votes)[620] *one party*.

(Groups in the Dumas.)

1911-12. *Collections by workers* (from the miscellany on liquidationism)[621] (one and two parties)

1917. June. First All-Russia Congress of Soviets.

1917. Nov. 1.5(?) millions. *Elections to the Constituent* 9 millions.[622] *Assembly*.

1.5 millions
9 millions

Written on December 1, 1921
First published in 1924
in the journal *Bolshevik*
No. 7-8

Printed from the original

TO V. A. AVANESOV, D. I. KURSKY AND A. D. TSYURUPA

Very urgent

Avanesov, Kursky and Tsyurupa

I suspect a small military stratagem on the part of Osinsky and Bogdanov, who today, in my absence, are raising the question of reversing the decision of the Council of Labour and Defence about the prosecution of persons guilty of bureaucratic delays in the manufacture of the Fowler ploughs.[623] Please give attention to this matter, and use your influence against reversing the decision. There is no doubt that in this affair there are people guilty of red tape, and from the standpoint of principle it is essential not to leave such matters within the confines of bureaucratic institutions, but to bring them out into the public court—not so much for the sake of inflicting strict punishment (perhaps a reprimand will suffice), but for the sake of publicity and for dispelling the universal conviction that guilty persons are not punished.

December 13, 1921

Lenin

Dictated by telephone

First published in 1928 in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from a typescript copy

TO P. A. BOGDANOV

December 23, 1921

Comrade Bogdanov,

I consider all your arguments about the Fowler ploughs affair to be completely wrong in principle. True, your error is not so indecent (excuse my strong language) as that of Osinsky, who has frankly become a defender of the worst kind of bureaucracy; nevertheless what you say does *not look good* either.

We must not be afraid of the courts (our courts are proletarian) or of publicity, but must drag bureaucratic delays out into daylight for the people's judgement: only in this way shall we manage to really cure this disease.

Your argument is that the people involved are exceptionally good, devoted and valuable workers.

Let's suppose that this is true, that you are not a victim of "departmental bias".

What follows from this?

Only this, that the court—if it agrees with you *in this respect* (and you, probably, since you firmly believe it, will present a number of most serious witnesses to prove it)—will bring in a verdict that:

> they are guilty of failing to eliminate bureaucratic delays and of mismanagement; but, taking into account their exceptional loyalty to the Soviet power, completely proved by a number of witnesses, their outstanding conscientiousness and zeal, also completely proved, taking into account the general defects in the machinery of the Supreme Economic Council, partly due to the change of Presidium, etc.

> ... decides not to inflict any punishment, in the belief that the accused will take this seriously to heart, as will the entire Presidium of the Supreme Economic Council.

Well, if *approximately* such a decision were taken, can you deny its usefulness—it's *social* significance, 1,000 times greater than a secret-Party-Central-Committee-idiotic hushing up of a rotten case about rotten bureaucracy and avoiding publicity?

You are absolutely wrong in principle. We don't know how to conduct a public trial for rotten bureaucracy: for this all of us, and particularly the People's Commissariat for Justice, should be hung on stinking ropes. And I have not yet lost all hope that one day we shall be hung for this, *and deservedly so*.

If you think that in the R.S.F.S.R. we cannot find a *single* sensible prosecutor and three sensible judges, really sensible (not over-hasty, not shouters, not phrase-mongers), then I accuse you also of pessimism about the Soviet power. I am sending a copy of this letter (together with your letter) to Comrade Kursky, with a special request that he read it himself and let it be read by as many jurists as possible, and that he, Kursky, should consider himself specifically responsible for selecting an unquestionably *sensible* prosecutor *and sensible* judges for *this* trial. And that Kursky should be personally responsible for (1) the maximum acceleration of the proceedings and (2) letting me have a *stenographic* report of this trial (to draw the conclusion as to whether at last our *very feeble* People's Commissariat for Justice is *learning* to organise and carry through public trials of bureaucracy). It is time we began to learn.

I don't understand why a sensible prosecutor should not in face of *the whole public* completely shatter, ridicule and disgrace a "Bogdanovist" and "Osinskyist" defence of bureaucratic red tape, and at the same time draw up a wise, correct and balanced charge.

Why should not a sentence be possible *approximately* on the following lines:

> Attaching exceptional importance to the public trial of cases of bureaucratic delay, we hand down in this case a very lenient sentence, in view of the

exceptionally rare conscientiousness of the accused; at the same time giving a warning that in future we shall punish for such delays the *most saintly*, *but negligent* dunderheads (the court perhaps will express itself more politely), because we, the R.S.F.S.R., do not need saintliness, but *efficient* management.

And, therefore, if we inflict no penalty on this occasion on Lomov and Styunkel[624] on account of their "saintliness", we sentence Unksov[625] (I think that's the name?), whose duty it was to submit reports to the *Council of Labour and Defence* and who failed to do so, to a week's arrest; we proclaim Ilyin[626] (director of the former Ilyin factory?) and the *entire works committee* of this factory, and the *entire* executive of the (corresponding) trade union, and the entire membership of the communist group of such-and-such a factory, or such-and-such factories, *guilty* of red tape, negligence and connivance at bureaucracy, and inflict on them a *severe reprimand* and *public* censure, with a warning that it is only for this first time that we are inflicting such mild penalties, but in future will for such behaviour send all such trade union and communist scoundrels (the court, perhaps, will express itself more mildly) mercilessly to jail.

With communist greetings,

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)

First published in 1928
in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the original

1922

ON THE QUESTION OF STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR

TO COMRADES BUKHARIN, ZINOVIEV AND MOLOTOV (FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU)

On the subject of yesterday's report from Hanover that the International Federation of Metalworkers is raising the question of struggle against war and has adopted a resolution to respond to war with a strike,[627] I suggest the following:

1. That a number of articles be printed in *Pravda* and *Izvestia*, giving a reminder of the fate of the Basle Manifesto and a detailed explanation of all the childishness or all the social-treachery, now being repeated by the metalworkers.

2. That at the next enlarged meeting of the Executive Committee of the Comintern there be put on the agenda the question of struggle against war, and that circumstantial resolutions be adopted explaining that only a ready and experienced revolutionary party, with a good illegal machinery, can successfully wage a struggle against war, and that the means of struggle is not a strike against war, but the formation of revolutionary groups in the warring armies and their preparation for the carrying out of a revolution.

February 4, 1922

Lenin

Received by telephone by L. A. Fotieva

First published on January 20, 1929 in *Pravda* No. 17

Printed from a typescript copy

ON THE TASKS OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR JUSTICE UNDER THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY

Letter to D. I. Kursky

Copies to: 1) Molotov for members of the Political Bureau
2) A. D. Tsyurupa
3) Rykov (when he returns)
4) Comrade Yenukidze for members of the Presidium of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee

Special request: Please, do not duplicate; let read and sign; prevent divulging; prevent blabbing out to enemies.

February 20, 1922

Comrade Kursky,

The activity of the People's Commissariat for Justice is apparently not yet at all adapted to the New Economic Policy.

Previously, the militant organs of the Soviet power were chiefly the People's Commissariat for the Army and the All-Russia Extraordinary Commission. An *especially* militant role now falls to the People's Commissariat for Justice (P.C.J.); unfortunately, there is no evidence of any understanding of this on the part of the leadership and the senior members of the P.C.J.

Intensification of reprisals against the political enemies of the Soviet power and the agents of the bourgeoisie (*specifically* the Mensheviks and S.R.s); mounting of these reprisals by revolutionary tribunals and people's courts in the swiftest, most *revolutionary* and *expedient* manner;

compulsory staging of a number of *model* (as regards speed and force of repression, and *explanation* of their significance to the masses of people through the courts and the press) trials in Moscow, Petrograd, Kharkov and several other key centres; influence on the people's judges and members of revolutionary tribunals through the Party in the sense of improving the activity of the courts and intensifying the reprisals—all of this must be conducted systematically, persistently, with doggedness and mandatory reports (in the most concise, telegraphic style but business-like and exact, with obligatory statistics of how the P.C.J. chastises and learns to chastise the "communist" scoundrels who predominate among us and who know how to chatter and put on airs, but not how to work).

The fighting role of the P.C.J. is equally important in the sphere of *NEP*, and here the P.C.J.'s weakness and apathy is even more outrageous. There is no evidence of any understanding of the fact that we recognise and will continue to recognise only *state* capitalism, and it is we—we conscious workers, we Communists—who are the state. That is why we should brand as good-for-nothing Communists those who have failed to understand their task of restricting, curbing, checking and catching red-handed and inflicting exemplary chastisement on any kind of *capitalism that goes beyond the framework of state capitalism in our meaning of the concept and tasks of the state.*

It is the P.C.J., it is the people's courts that are here faced with an especially militant and especially responsible task. There is no sign that it has been grasped. The papers make noises about the abuse of *NEP*. These abuses are innumerable.

But where is the noise about *model trials* of the scoundrels abusing the New Economic Policy? There is no such noise, because there are no such trials. The P.C.J. has "forgotten" that that is its business, that it is its duty to pull up, shake up and rouse the people's courts and teach them to be *ruthless and swift* in chastising—*with every means*, *including the firing squad*—for abuse of the New Economic Policy. *It* is responsible for this. There is no evidence of any vibrant activity in this sphere on the part of the P.C.J., because there is no such activity.

The educational role of the courts is tremendous. How do we show concern for this? How do we take account of the real results? There is nothing of the sort, but that happens to be the ABC of juridical work.

It is just as elementary that triple penalties should be inflicted on Communists, as compared with non-Party people. There again the P.C.J. has shown little concern.

Under the tsar, the procurators were sacked or promoted on the strength of the percentage of cases they won. We managed to adopt the worst of tsarist Russia—red tape and sluggishness—and this is virtually stifling us, but we failed to adopt its *good* practices. Every member of the P.C.J. Collegium, every worker of this Commissariat should be assessed according to his record, on the strength of the following figures: how many Communists have you jailed with triple sentences, as compared with non-Party people, for the same offences? How many bureaucrats have you jailed for red tape and procrastination? How many merchants caught abusing *NEP* have you sentenced to be shot or to some other no-joke penalty (for ridiculous penalties are frequently imposed in Moscow, under the very nose of the P.C.J.)? You can't answer the question? This means that you are an idler who should be expelled from the Party for "communist chatter" and for "communist conceit".

The new civil legislation is being drafted. I find that the P.C.J. is "swimming with the tide". But its task is to swim *against* the tide. Its task is to create a new civil law, and not to adopt (rather, not to allow itself to be duped by the old and stupid bourgeois lawyers who adopt) the old, bourgeois concept of civil law. It should not give in to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, which "ex officio" conducts the line of "adaptation to Europe", but *combat* this line and work out a *new* civil law, a new attitude to "private" contracts, etc. We do not recognise anything "private", and regard *everything* in the economic sphere as falling under *public* and not private *law*. We allow *only* state capitalism, and as has been said, it is we who are the state. Hence, the task is to extend the application of state intervention in "private legal" relations; to extend the right of the state to annul "private" contracts; to apply to "civil legal relations"

not the *corpus juris romani* but *our revolutionary concept of law*; to show systematically, persistently, with determination, through a series of model trials, *how* this should be done wisely and vigorously; to brand through the Party and expel those members of revolutionary tribunals and people's judges who fail to learn this .or refuse to understand it.

Unless the P.C.J. rouses itself at once and vigorously starts working in a new, militant way, along new lines, it will be disgraced before Genoa (and the whole world).

I propose to you that

1) you read my letter to all members of the P.C.J. Collegium;
2) ditto—at a meeting of 100-200 Communists exclusively, who practise in the sphere of civil, criminal and constitutional law;
3) prohibit, on pain of Party responsibility, to chatter about it (about this letter), for it is stupid to disclose our strategy to the enemy;
4) get a number of Communists, working in the courts and in the P.C.J., who are quite agreed with the spirit of this letter, to publish some articles in the press and give a number of public lectures on these topics;
5) allocate *responsibility* between all members of the Collegium (and if possible between other prominent Communists working in the P.C.J.):

a) for the sections in charge of the new *civil* legislation (*specifically* and *highly* important);
b) ditto criminal legislation;
c) ditto constitutional and political legislation } less urgent
d) for staging and conducting model, widely publicised and *educational* trials in the said centres;
e) for the business-like—and not just for the record—control over people's courts and revolutionary tribunals, to see that they manage in fact to *intensify reprisals* also against the political enemies of the Soviet power (the P.C.J. will be the *first to blame* if these reprisals are not also intensified) and against *NEP abuses*.

We allow you to trade and make money, but insist that you be *thrice* as honest, that you submit truthful and exact accounts, that you abide not only by the letter but also by the *spirit* of our, communist legislation, that you do not allow the *slightest* departure from our laws—that is what the P.C.J. should adopt as its main commandment in respect of NEP. If the P.C.J. fails to make our capitalism "disciplined" and "decent"; if the P.C.J. fails to prove by a series of model trials that it *knows* how to trap offenders against this rule and *chastise*, not with the disgracefully stupid fine of 100 or 200 millions—which is shortsighted from the communist standpoint—but with *shooting*, then the P.C.J. is good for nothing and I shall deem it my duty to get the Central Committee to agree to a total replacement of all senior workers of the P.C.J.

Please inform me as soon as possible of the allocation of the said work between all members of the P.C.J. Collegium to show me, with the utmost precision, who specifically (with the exception of the People's Commissar, who is responsible for *everything*) is responsible for which departments of *civil* law (and then also of criminal law, etc.), and for the staging of model trials (each member of the Collegium must show *his* mettle in staging and conducting *several* model trials) and for the business-like control over revolutionary tribunals and people's courts, judicial investigators, etc., in such-and-such a gubernia or such-and-such a district of Moscow.

What we need is not a division of "departments" and bureaucratic slumber on that, but personal responsibility on the part of every *Communist* on the Collegium for a specific area of live revolutionary work. That is what the People's Commissar must achieve and prove that he is capable of achieving it.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

P.S. There must not be the slightest mention of my letter in the press. Let anyone, who so wishes, write in his own name, without any mention of mine, and provide as many concrete data as possible.

First published in part in 1924 in the book: *Pyaty Vserossiisky syezd deyatelei sovetskoi yustitsii. Stenograficheskiy otchot* (Fifth All-Russia Congress of Soviet Judiciary. Stenographic Report), Juridical Publishing House of the People's Commissariat for Justice of the R.S.F.S.R., Moscow

First published in full in V. I. Lenin, *Sobraniye Sochineny* (Collected Works), Fifth Edition

Printed from the original

TO A. D. TSYURUPA

ON THE SUBJECT OF THE DRAFT DIRECTIVES TO THE NARROW COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS[628]

Comrade Tsyurupa,

I think we are still radically at odds. The main thing, in my opinion, is to shift the centre of gravity from writing decrees and orders (our stupidities in this respect verge on idiocy) to *selection of people* and *checking fulfilment*. This is the essential point.

Is the Narrow Council unsuitable for this? Let's assume that. Then *you and Rykov* must devote 9/10ths of your time to it (it is *ridiculous* to expect the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection and the Executive Secretary to do more than fulfil *simple* instructions). All of us are sunk in the rotten bureaucratic swamp of "departments". Great authority, common sense and strong will are necessary for the everyday struggle against this. The departments are shit; decrees are shit. To find men and check up on their work—that is the whole point. If you+Rykov set about this for 9/10ths of your time, and make the Executive Secretary (and sometimes also members of the Narrow Council of People's Commissars) your assistants, then perhaps we can get by.

Send me once again your draft about the Narrow Council of People's Commissars.

Lenin

Written on February 21, 1922

First published in 1928 in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the original

TO A. L. SHEINMAN

February 28

Comrade Sheinman,

Your words that the State Bank is now a "powerful apparatus" (Feb. 22) made me laugh. Let me say in confidence: this is the height of childishness, the height of Communist-mandarin childishness.

A "powerful apparatus"! The "powerful apparatus"= transferring from one state pocket into another such remarkable "real values" as Soviet rubles.... Current accounts expressed in gold rubles (and even that falsely, not at the *real* parity) 2.8-7.9-10.3 million rubles (on Dec. 16, Jan. 16, and Feb. 1). Ha-ha! And how are they made up? 90-98 per cent are revenues from our *state trusts*, i.e., the same official bits of paper from the same bureaucrats!

At present the State Bank=a bureaucratic paper game. There is the truth for you, if you want to hear not the sweet communist-official lies (with which everyone feeds you as a high mandarin), but the *truth*.

And if you don't want to look at this truth with open eyes, through all the communist lying, you are a man who has *perished* in the prime of life in a swamp of official lying. Now that is an unpleasant truth, but it is the truth.

Either to seek and *gradually* to find (testing and checking one hundred times) *people* capable of organising trade on behalf of the State Bank, checking on trade, encouraging business-like traders, *closing down* allegedly commercial, but in reality communist-bureaucratic trading and factory "Potemkin villages"[629]—or the entire State Bank and all its work is zero, worse than zero, self-deception with a new bureaucratic rattle.

And until you prove to me by acts, backed up by experience, that the State Bank has *begun to find* such men, inspectors, agents, etc., until then there is nothing to talk about: I won't believe a word you say.

Please don't be angry for this frankness.

Yours,
Lenin

Written on February 28, 1922

First published in 1949
in the journal *Bolshevik* No. 1

Printed from the original

TO V. A. TIKHOMIROV[630]

Copies to Comrades Molotov and Tsyurupa

Comrade Tikhomirov,

In my opinion, no alterations are needed.

It is not the co-operative movement that should be adapted to the *New Economic Policy*, but the *New Economic Policy* to the co-operative movement.

The parallel with the trade unions is incorrect, a parallel with the Soviets would be nearer the truth.

The old structure should be retained. All attention and all effort should be concentrated on selecting *people* (this is our weak spot), and *getting the better of private trade*.

Everything towards this end.

No reorganisations.

Are there any practical successes? I am afraid, not.

Turnover Sept. —1
Oct. —3
Nov. —6
Dec. —10 million pre-war rubles?
and Jan. —1922?

What is the percentage of expenses? Are the local co-operatives growing weaker or stronger?

With communist greetings,
Lenin

Written on March 1, 1922
First published in the newspaper *Kooperativnaya Zhizn* No. 255, November 6-7, 1927
Printed from the original

TO I. I. SKVORTSOV-STEPANOV

March 19

Comrade Stepanov,

I have just finished looking through 160 pages of your book.[631]

Just as I was furious in cursing you (up to and including bad language) for being able at such a time to spend months over refuting Cunow,[632] so I am delighted with this book. Now this is a real achievement! Now this is a model of how one should teach the Russian savage *from the ABC* onwards, and to teach him not a "half-science" but the *whole of science.*

Write (after you have had a *proper* rest) another such little book on the history of religion *and against all* religion (including the Kantian and other subtly idealistic or subtly agnostic religion), with a survey of material on the history of atheism and *on the links* between the church and the bourgeoisie.

Once more: greetings and congratulations on a splendid success.

Yours,
Lenin

P.S. There is something wrong on page 97. Respondek has muddled matters.[633] I advise you to take the original source and have a check made. I enclose a letter to Popov (you can send it through my secretary).

P.P.S. I am sending my preface to the secretary.[634]

Written on March 19, 1922

First published in 1929 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolutsia* No. 10 (93)

Printed from the original

NOTES FOR A SPEECH ON MARCH 27, 1922[635]

1. On *Genoa* briefly to repeat what was said on Mar. 6, 1922.[636] (+delegation composed. — Directives carefully discussed more than once.—"*We are ready*.")
2. *NEP*. The main points of this "question":
   (a) Testing the "link" with the peasant economy.
3. (b) The test by competition between state *and* capitalist enterprises (both *commercial* and *industrial*; both *Russian* and *foreign*).
4. (c) "State capitalism." Scholastic *versus* revolutionary and practical meaning of this term. ((*State* capitalism. "*We*" are the state.))
5. (d) Halting the retreat. Not in the sense: "We've already learned", but in the sense: don't have nerves, don't invent, but learn on the *present ground*; "regrouping of forces and preparation"=the watchword of the day. Preparation for the offensive *against private capital*=the watchword. The scouting sortie has been made. *Mixed companies*.
6. "Evolution or tactics? Ustryalov in *Smena Vekh*[637]: more useful than "sweet-sounding communist lies".

7. Which side will win? What do we lack? Cultured methods, *ability to administer* (including ability to carry on state trade).
8. *Todorsky, p. 62, to underline.*[638] Already in Oct. 1918! (Cf. conqueror and conquered: who is more cultured? 4,700 responsible Communists of Moscow and Moscow bureaucracy.)

Two *typical* examples

9. Example No. 1: *Moscow Consumers' Co-operative Society* fights the red tape of the *People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade.*[639]

"Copy of the white cow."[640] What did "they" (without Krasin and Kamenev) lack? *Culture.*

(*Material of the "case" of the M.C.C.S. versus the P.C.F.T.*)

10. Example No. 2: How "he" (and "they") *overdid the administering* (in the Donets Basin). (In this case there was *insufficient* ability to manage + a certain *political* mistake.)
11. "State trusts." An example ... for next year! (Role of the Communists: they're *bad*!)
12. Summing up: we have quite enough resources to win in *NEP*: both political and economic. The question is "*only*" one of *cultured methods*!
13. The whiteguards (including the *Mensheviks* and *S.R.s* and Co.) see in this *something* in their favour! Vain hope! A review of what has been completed and not completed is very valuable:

(α) A bourgeois-democratic revolution, "they" say! Against them (400 years' worth of dung cleaned out in 4 years!).
(β) Exit from the war: a *revolutionary* exit from a reactionary war. And what about them?
(γ) The Soviet state. The first in the world. A new epoch: worse than the *first locomotive*!

The three are inseparable.

The fourth, and *main* one, is not finished: laying the *foundations of a socialist economy*. To be redone again and again.

14. What "link in the chain" must we get hold of now?
1917—withdrawal from the war,
1918—Soviet state versus Constituent Assembly.
1919 and 1920—repelling invasion.
1921: economic approach to the peasantry. *The search for an economic policy*.
1922: The *essential* is not in institutions, not in reorganisations, not in new decrees, but in the *selection of personnel* and in *checking performance*. Selection of personnel and checking performance.
On three (3) conditions:
(α) Absence of intervention.
With Mensheviks and S.R.s: *shooting* for political *abetting*.
(β) The financial crisis not to be excessively severe.
(Not very severe? Purging the state trusts.)
(γ) Making no *political mistakes*.

15. "The key feature of the moment" (the link in the chain)= the gap between the grandeur of the tasks imposed and our *poverty*, not only material but also *cultural*.
16. We must be at the head of the masses, other vise we are a drop in the ocean.

"*The phase of propaganda by decrees*" *is over*. The masses will understand and appreciate *only* business-like practical work, *practical success* in economic and cultural work.

ΣΣ = Selection of people and checking of performance!

Additions:

1. The Party versus the Soviet bodies. (Don't bother it with petty jobs. Raise the responsibility of personnel in Soviet bodies.)
2. All-Russia Central Executive Committee? Longer sessions. More careful discussion. More circumstantial checking.
3. Council of People's Commissars and Council of Labour and Defence.
   My deputies (Rykov and the usefulness of Wilhelm II).
   Correspondence since Jan. 1922.
   Checking performance, pulling up, *purging from above*.
4. C.P.C. Raise its prestige, free it from minor tasks.

5. C.L.D. Develop and expand the *activities of the regional economic conferences*.
6. Narrow Council of People's Commissars. Free it also from minor tasks.

Draft directives (on the instruction of the Central Committee) will be submitted.

Written on March 25-26, 1922
First published in 1926
in the journal *Bolshevik* No. 4

Printed from the original

TO D. I. KURSKY

Top Secret

Comrade Kursky, People's Commissariat for Justice
Copy to Comrade Krylenko

On my instructions, the former Moscow Extraordinary Commission began an investigation into the criminal negligence, red tape and inactivity displayed by the Scientific and Technical Department and the Inventions Committee.

The results of the investigation were put before the Moscow Revolutionary Tribunal which, instead of examining the case in substance, discovering and punishing the guilty (and that in these institutions there are a sufficient number of learned wastrels, loafers and other scoundrels, has been noted more than once in the press, in the articles by Comrade Sosnovsky and others), adopted an extremely patronising attitude to the accused, tried them without a prosecutor, and in the end found the charge not proven and acquitted all the accused.

At the present time I have been informed that the Moscow Gubernia Branch of the State Political Department has appealed against the decision of the Moscow Revolutionary Tribunal to the Judiciary Supervision Section of the People's Commissariat for Justice. I ask you to study this case personally, pay particular attention to it, try together with the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection to collect supplementary material on the activity of these institutions, if necessary appoint an investigating committee by agreement with Comrade Avanesov—not composed of officials and drivellers, but of people who really know how to investigate properly, to procure the material required and find

the culprits. A political trial should be mounted in the Revolutionary Tribunal (making use of Comrade Sosnovsky for the press) to really shake up this "scientific" swamp.

I suggest that the Moscow Revolutionary Tribunal be severely reprimanded for its indulgence and formal bureaucratic handling of the case.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on March 31, 1922
First published
on January 21, 1931
in *Pravda* No. 21

Printed from a typescript copy

TO N. OSINSKY

Copies to 1) The Editorial Board of *Pravda*
2) Comrade Steklov
3) Rykov and Tsyurupa

April 12, 1922

Comrade Osinsky,

I very much welcome your article in today's *Pravda*: "New Data from Local Experience". It is just such articles that we need most of all, and I think that every People's Commissariat ought to "provide itself" with a publicist (very closely connected with the work of the People's Commissariat and the People's Commissar) to make such reviews.

The worst of our features is an excess of general disquisitions in the press, and political prattle with an extreme lack of *study* of local experience. Both in the provinces and in the centre, powerful tendencies resist its truthful publicity and truthful evaluation. They are afraid of washing dirty linen in public, afraid of the naked truth, and brush it aside with a meaningful glance, taking a superficial attitude, as Comrade Trotsky correctly said.

We need more and more concreteness in studying local experience, details, the little things, practice, business-like experience, going deeply into real life—uyezd, volost and village; examination of what, where, by whom and why (by what means) success is achieved, in spite of the abyss of poverty and ruin, in reaching genuine improvement, even if on a small scale, and courage to unmask mistakes and incapacity, popularising and *advertising* with all our strength every local worker who is in any way out-

standing, and making him a model. The more such work is done, the deeper we go into living practice, distracting the attention of both ourselves and our readers from the stinking bureaucratic and stinking intellectual Moscow (and, in general, Soviet bourgeois) atmosphere, the greater will be our success in improving both our press and all our constructive work.

Once again I welcome your initiative, and very much wish that you should continue it further, on a wider scale and more *deeply* in the same direction.

With communist greetings,
Lenin

First published in part
on February 17, 1956
in *Pravda* No. 48

Published in full
on April 22, 1956
in *Pravda* No. 113

Printed from the original

TO MEMBERS OF THE COLLEGIUM OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' INSPECTION

August 21

Svidersky, Reske, Rozmirovich, Ruzer
and other members of the Collegium of the *W.P.I.*

I very much regret that Tsyurupa did not manage to do any work in the *Workers' and Peasants' Inspection*.[641] I am afraid that the work is not quite rightly organised. The *type* of work is *individual investigations and* reports. This is old hat. But there is no *reorganisation* of the machinery or its improvement. There are no model staffs composed entirely of Communists, or entirely of students of Schools of Soviet and Party Work; there are no systematically worked-out *rates* of work, which might be applied to other departments; there are no systematic statistical studies of what *Soviet employees* can do in this or that branch of government in the course of a week, and so forth.

I had constantly hoped that the influx of new people into the Collegium of the W.P.I. would liven up the work, but from my questioning of Stalin I have not been able to see this. Please write to me, and then we shall organise a meeting, if necessary. You have a staff of 8,000 instead of 9,000. Would it not be possible to cut it down to *2,000*, with salaries for 6,000 (i.e., to treble the payment) and improve their qualifications?

If Avanesov arrives soon, show this to him too.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written on August 21, 1922

First published in 1928 in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the original

TO V. A. AVANESOV

September 1, 1922

Comrade Avanesov,

Yesterday I talked it over with Comrade Svidersky, and convinced myself that he too attaches the greatest importance to the "department of normalisation". He has given the job of collecting the literature to Yermansky. I am somewhat doubtful whether Yermansky will do this successfully. He is a Menshevik, and his book shows a certain maliciousness (although the book is nevertheless a good one).[642] Please either check up on his performance of the assignment, or take steps *yourself* to have it carried out.

Both German and American literature should be obtained. *Everything* more or less valuable should be collected, especially as regards normalising *bureaucratic* work (procedure for dispatch of business; forms; control; typing of copies; inquiries and replies, etc., etc.).

In my opinion, the *most necessary* thing for us now is to learn from Europe and America. If I am not mistaken, I have heard that you have an excellent knowledge of German. If not, find a translator. Maybe something useful will be found in the Scandinavian countries also.

Everything must be got together, and *don't rely* on Yermansky *without a special chechup*.

Maybe through Krestinsky[643] you will be able to get hold of some *unpublished* material? Or through the ambassador in Norway?

I think that we must work out normalisation of *paper* work, and then apply it everywhere. This is most important. If they allowed you to look at one of the best institutions in Germany or Norway, it would be worth staying over there for a week.

The main thing is norms (i.e., how many people for such-and-such a sum total of work). After that we shall make our own Central Statistical Board work as well.

Please, *after making use of this letter*, send it on to A. D. Tsyurupa. So long as he is ill, I don't want to worry him.

Best regards,

Yours,

Lenin

Sent to Berlin

First published in part on January 21, 1927 in *Komsomolskaya Pravda* No. 17

Published in full in 1928 in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the original

TO L. M. KHINCHUK

Comrade Khinchuk,

Please send me the proofs (first proofs, even if uncorrected) of your new book.[644]

Would it be possible (provided this does not delay publication: there should be no delay in *any* circumstances) to add tables showing the growth of turnover by quarters,

the number of selling-points in the villages
(and by districts),
volume of sales in the villages,.
percentage of expenditure (to turnover),
number of employees,
and so forth.

Generally speaking, I think it essential to have precise data to show *how deeply* commercial turnover has penetrated the countryside, *how widespread* it is, and *just how* the process works.

If for some reason it cannot be printed, please send it to me.

With communist greetings,
Lenin

Written on September 12, 1922

First published in 1924 in the journal *Soyuz Potrebitelei* No. 5

Printed from the original

TO L. M. KHINCHUK

Comrade Khinchuk,

I decided to send you the pamphlet, in order not to delay it. Please send it to me again in page.

Could you add

1) Details on reduction of staff? *By departments*?
2) The same, about normalisation?
   (They say you have a department.)
3) The same, comparing data (all the data) by quarters?
4) The same, showing in *how many* volosts (and per cent) and in how many villages (and per cent of all villages) there are selling-points?
5) Price of tea? Is it not too low? Do you realise that this is an *article of luxury*? How do you determine the allowable *maximum* price of tea?
6) A division of products into necessities and luxuries.
7) Sales of agricultural *implements*, including improved ones? Propaganda measures about them?

With communist greetings,

Lenin

P.S. The pamphlet is a very good one.

Written not earlier than September 18, 1922

First published in 1924 in the journal *Soyuz Potrebitelei* No. 5

Printed from the original

NOTES FOR A REPORT "FIVE YEARS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND THE PROSPECTS OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION" AT THE FOURTH CONGRESS OF THE COMINTERN[645]

1. Not a reporter, but only a *brief introduction* to the debate (illness, etc.).[646]
2. The theme: has *NEP* been tested by experience? (The experience) for or against?
3. The question of "state capitalism" was touched on already in 1918.
4. Quotation from pamphlet.[647] *Seite* 5.

> "State capitalism would be progress."

5. Quotation: "5 elements" of the economy of Russia.
6. Quotation: which element predominates?[648]
7. What is the plan or idea or essence of *NEP*?
   (α) Retention of the land in the hands of the state;
   (β) *the same* for all commanding heights in the sphere of *means* of production (*transport*, etc.);
   (γ) freedom of trade in the sphere of petty production;
   (δ) state capitalism in the sense of attracting *private capital* (both concessions and *mixed companies*).
8. The result follows: in *1918* retreat was assured.
9. We have been alone for 5 years; there is as yet no revolution in any other countries; war and hunger. Shall we perish?
10. To *retreat* a little. We retreated. *Results*?
11. Spring of 1921*—to autumn of 1922. What results?

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* The MS. erroneously says 1911.—*Ed.*

12. *The ruble*. Its stabilisation < 3 months 1921
> *5 months 1922*
We are getting back on our feet alone, without help. (Quadrillion? Yes, but it won't take long to strike out.)
13. The peasantry? *The tax in kind* (*successful* collection; hundreds of millions).
14. Light industry? *General revival*.
15. Heavy industry?
Very grave situation.
A turn for the better 1921-22, but very slight. (*Revenue of the State Bank*: *20 mln. in gold*, *possibility of helping*.)
16. Summing up: this means success is possible, there is *in fact* success.
A system which is not arbitrary, not muddled, practically tested.
We are getting back on our feet alone, *without outside help*.
17. The difficulties are *very great and will continue to be for another few years*.
Mass of stupidities. Yes. Untrodden path.
No-help, on the contrary.
An alien machinery.
Our stupidities 2×2=5.
"Their" stupidities 2×2=a tallow candle.
1) Kolchak } }
2) Peace of } }
Versailles.
18. Therefore
the prospects are excellent.
And will be even better if both
we use the next five-year period *mainly*
for study
and the *Communist International*,
since the resolution on *organisational structure* of the parties (1921) has *not been carried out*.[649]
Prospects
...will be even better.

The title:

"on the organisational structure of the Communist Parties"

"on methods and content of their work"

Organisatorischer Aufbau der kommunistischen Parteien, Methoden und Inhalt ihrer Arbeit.

Speech at Comintern on Nov. 13, 1922

Written before November 13, 1922

First published on January 21, 1926 in *Pravda* No. 17

Printed from the original

OUTLINE OF SPEECH AT THE TENTH ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF SOVIETS[650]

1. Fifth anniversary (Vladivostok).
2. Civil war *united* working class and peasantry, and this is a *guarantee of invincible strength*.
3. Civil war trained and tempered (Denikin and others were good *teachers*; taught seriously; all *our best Party workers were in the army*).
3 *bis*: ... *3 bis*: *Diplomacy* (N.B.). Apparatus is easier to build.
4. We have overcome last year's famine too.
5. Now *concentrate* on *economics*: how (N.B.) to *approach* socialism?
6. Not otherwise than through *NEP*.
7. *A year's testing*?
8. *Finances. A small step* forward.
9. *Kritsman*, 1920—16%, 21—50%, 22 60%.[651]
10. Growth of trade, both *internal*
11. — — and external.
12. — Mixed companies: *learning*.
13. Industry: light industry has *improved*,
14. — — — heavy *difficult*, but not hopeless: there is a small step forward.
15. *Central Council of Co-operative Societies*: its special significance.
16. The state apparatus in general: *bad beyond description*; *lower than the bourgeois level of culture*.

("frightened" in November 1917); it is a question of culture *in general*, and it *will take years to raise it*.

17. Hundreds of thousands of employees in the state apparatus. *Increase*.

N.B. 18. Census of 1922 (Oct.-Nov.).

19. Its results.

20. *Article by Kin*.[652]

21. Not alterations, but *redistribution* and *reduction*.

22. *A job for many* years: (we are alone, it is we who are carrying, and we should be *the ones who are being carried*).

23. More rapidly (1917-22)
more slowly (1922-27?) ("watchword").

24. Patronage of town Party cells over village cells and *vice versa*.

Often: this apparatus does not belong to us, we belong to it!

Supply of raw materials and other things for the *next year*! *N.B.* (danger).

Written in the first half of December 1922

First published on September 27, 1925 in *Pravda* No. 221

Printed from the original

1922-1923

LETTER TO THE CONGRESS[653]

GRANTING LEGISLATIVE FUNCTIONS TO THE STATE PLANNING COMMISSION

THE QUESTION OF NATIONALITIES OR "AUTONOMISATION"

Dictated in December 1922-January 1923

Published in 1956 in the journal *Kommunist* No. 9 and as a pamphlet

Printed from the shorthand notes

I

LETTER TO THE CONGRESS

I would urge strongly that at this Congress a number of changes be made in our political structure.

I want to tell you of the considerations to which I attach most importance.

At the head of the list I set an increase in the number of Central Committee members to a few dozen or even a hundred. It is my opinion that without this reform our Central Committee would be in great danger if the course of events were not quite favourable for us (and that is something we cannot count on).

Then, I intend to propose that the Congress should on certain conditions invest the decisions of the State Planning Commission with legislative force, meeting, in this respect, the wishes of Comrade Trotsky—to a certain extent and on certain conditions.

As for the first point, i.e., increasing the number of C.C. members, I think it must be done in order to raise the prestige of the Central Committee, to do a thorough job of improving our administrative machinery and to prevent conflicts between small sections of the C.C. from acquiring excessive importance for the future of the Party.

It seems to me that our Party has every right to demand from the working class 50 to 100 C.C. members, and that it could get them from it without unduly taxing the resources of that class.

Such a reform would considerably increase the stability of our Party and ease its struggle in the encirclement of hostile states, which, in my opinion, is likely to, and must, become much more acute in the next few years. I think

that the stability of our Party would gain a thousandfold by such a measure.

Lenin

December 23, 1922
Taken down by M. V.

II

Continuation of the notes.
December 24, 1922

By stability of the Central Committee, of which I spoke above, I mean measures against a split, as far as such measures can at all be taken. For, of course, the whiteguard in *Russkaya Mysl* (it seems to have been S. S. Oldenburg) was right when, first, in the whiteguards' game against Soviet Russia he banked on a split in our Party, and when, secondly, he banked on grave differences in our Party to cause that split.

Our Party relies on two classes and therefore its instability would be possible and its downfall inevitable if there were no agreement between those two classes. In that event this or that measure, and generally all talk about the stability of our C.C., would be futile. No measures of any kind could prevent a split in such a case. But I hope that this is too remote a future and too improbable an event to talk about.

I have in mind stability as a guarantee against a split in the immediate future, and I intend to deal here with a few ideas concerning personal qualities.

I think that from this standpoint the prime factors in the question of stability are such members of the C.C. as Stalin and Trotsky. I think relations between them make up the greater part of the danger of a split, which could be avoided, and this purpose, in my opinion, would be served, among other things, by increasing the number of C.C. members to 50 or 100.

Comrade Stalin, having become Secretary-General, has unlimited authority concentrated in his hands, and I am not sure

whether he will always be capable of using that authority with sufficient caution. Comrade Trotsky, on the other hand, as his struggle against the C.C. on the question of the People's Commissariat for Communications has already proved, is distinguished not only by outstanding ability. He is personally perhaps the most capable man in the present C.C., but he has displayed excessive self-assurance and shown excessive preoccupation with the purely administrative side of the work.

These two qualities of the two outstanding leaders of the present C.C. can inadvertently lead to a split, and if our Party does not take steps to avert this, the split may come unexpectedly.

I shall not give any further appraisals of the personal qualities of other members of the C.C. I shall just recall that the October episode with Zinoviev and Kamenev[654] was, of course, no accident, but neither can the blame for it be laid upon them personally, any more than non-Bolshevism can upon Trotsky.

Speaking of the young C.C. members, I wish to say a few words about Bukharin and Pyatakov. They are, in my opinion, the most outstanding figures (among the youngest ones), and the following must be borne in mind about them: Bukharin is not only a most valuable and major theorist of the Party; he is also rightly considered the favourite of the whole Party, but his theoretical views can be classified as fully Marxist only with great reserve, for there is something scholastic about him (he has never made a study of dialectics, and, I think, never fully understood it).

December 25. As for Pyatakov, he is unquestionably a man of outstanding will and outstanding ability, but shows too much zeal for administrating and the administrative side of the work to be relied upon in a serious political matter.

Both of these remarks, of course, are made only for the present, on the assumption that both these outstanding and devoted Party workers fail to find an occasion to enhance their knowledge and amend their one-sidedness.

Lenin

December 25, 1922
Taken down by M. V.

ADDITION TO THE LETTER OF DECEMBER 24, 1922

Stalin is too rude and this defect, although quite tolerable in our midst and in dealings among us Communists, becomes intolerable in a Secretary-General. That is why I suggest that the comrades think about a way of removing Stalin from that post and appointing another man in his stead who in all other respects differs from Comrade Stalin in having only one advantage, namely, that of being more tolerant, more loyal, more polite and more considerate to the comrades, less capricious, etc. This circumstance may appear to be a negligible detail. But I think that from the standpoint of safeguards against a split and from the standpoint of what I wrote above about the relationship between Stalin and Trotsky it is not a detail, or it is a detail which can assume decisive importance.

Lenin

Taken down by L. F.
January 4, 1923

III

Continuation of the notes.
December 26, 1922

The increase in the number of C.C. members to 50 or even 100 must, in my opinion, serve a double or even a treble purpose: the more members there are in the C.C., the more men will be trained in C.C. work and the less danger there will be of a split due to some indiscretion. The enlistment of many workers to the C.C. will help the workers to improve our administrative machinery, which is pretty bad. We inherited it, in effect, from the old regime, for it was absolutely impossible to reorganise it in such a short time, especially in conditions of war, famine, etc. That is why those "critics" who point to the defects of our administrative machinery out of mockery or malice may be calmly answered that they do not in the least understand the conditions of the revolution today. It is altogether impossible

in five years to reorganise the machinery adequately, especially in the conditions in which our revolution took place. It is enough that in five years we have created a new type of state in which the workers are leading the peasants against the bourgeoisie; and in a hostile international environment this in itself is a gigantic achievement. But knowledge of this must on no account blind us to the fact that, in effect, we took over the old machinery of state from the tsar and the bourgeoisie and that now, with the onset of peace and the satisfaction of the minimum requirements against famine, all our work must be directed towards improving the administrative machinery.

I think that a few dozen workers, being members of the C.C., can deal better than anybody else with checking, improving and remodelling our state apparatus. The Workers' and Peasants' Inspection on whom this function devolved at the beginning proved unable to cope with it and can be used only as an "appendage" or, on certain conditions, as an assistant to these members of the C.C. In my opinion, the workers admitted to the Central Committee should come preferably not from among those who have had long service in Soviet bodies (in this part of my letter the term workers everywhere includes peasants), because those workers have already acquired the very traditions and the very prejudices which it is desirable to combat.

The working-class members of the C.C. must be mainly workers of a lower stratum than those promoted in the last five years to work in Soviet bodies; they must be people closer to being rank-and-file workers and peasants, who, however, do not fall into the category of direct or indirect exploiters. I think that by attending all sittings of the C.C. and all sittings of the Political Bureau, and by reading all the documents of the C.C., such workers can form a staff of devoted supporters of the Soviet system, able, first, to give stability to the C.C. itself, and second, to work effectively on the renewal and improvement of the state apparatus.

Lenin

Taken down by L. F.
December 26, 1922

IV

Continuation of the notes.
December 27, 1922

GRANTING LEGISLATIVE FUNCTIONS TO THE STATE PLANNING COMMISSION

This idea was suggested by Comrade Trotsky, it seems, quite a long time ago. I was against it at the time, because I thought that there would then be a fundamental lack of co-ordination in the system of our legislative institutions. But after closer consideration of the matter I find that in substance there is a sound idea in it, namely: the State Planning Commission stands somewhat apart from our legislative institutions, although, as a body of experienced people, experts, representatives of science and technology, it is actually in a better position to form a correct judgement of affairs.

However, we have so far proceeded from the principle that the State Planning Commission must provide the state with critically analysed material and the state institutions must decide state matters. I think that in the present situation, when affairs of state have become unusually complicated, when it is necessary time and again to settle questions of which some require the expert opinion of the members of the State Planning Commission and some do not, and, what is more, to settle matters which need the expert opinion of the State Planning Commission on some points but not on others—I think that we must now take a step towards extending the competence of the State Planning Commission.

I imagine that step to be such that the decisions of the State Planning Commission could not be rejected by ordinary procedure in Soviet bodies, but would need a special procedure to be reconsidered. For example, the question should be submitted to a session of the All-Russia Central

Executive Committee, prepared for reconsideration according to a special instruction, involving the drawing up, under special rules, of memoranda to examine whether the State Planning Commission decision is subject to reversal. Lastly, special time-limits should be set for the reconsideration of State Planning Commission decisions, etc.

In this respect I think we can and must accede to the wishes of Comrade Trotsky, but not in the sense that specifically any one of our political leaders, or the Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council, etc., should be Chairman of the State Planning Commission. I think that personal matters are at present too closely interwoven with the question of principle. I think that the attacks which are now made against the Chairman of the State Planning Commission, Comrade Krzhizhanovsky, and Comrade Pyatakov, his deputy, and which proceed along two lines, so that, on the one hand, we hear charges of extreme leniency, lack of independent judgement and lack of backbone, and, on the other, charges of excessive coarseness, drill-sergeant methods, lack of solid scientific background, etc.—I think these attacks express two sides of the question, exaggerating them to the extreme, and that in actual fact we need a skilful combination in the State Planning Commission of two types of character, of which one may be exemplified by Comrade Pyatakov and the other by Comrade Krzhizhanovsky.

I think that the State Planning Commission must be headed by a man who, on the one hand, has scientific education, namely, either technical or agronomic, with decades of experience in practical work in the field of technology or of agronomics. I think this man must possess not so much the qualities of an administrator as broad experience and the ability to enlist the services of other men.

Lenin

December 27, 1922
Taken down by M. V.

V

Continuation of the letter
on the legislative nature of
State Planning Commission
decisions.
December 28, 1922

I have noticed that some of our comrades who are able to exercise a decisive influence on the direction of state affairs, exaggerate the administrative side, which, of course, is necessary in its time and place, but which should not be confused with the scientific side, with a grasp of the broad facts, the ability to recruit men, etc.

In every state institution, especially in the State Planning Commission, the combination of these two qualities is essential; and when Comrade Krzhizhanovsky told me that he had enlisted the services of Comrade Pyatakov for the Commission and had come to terms with him about the work, I, in consenting to this, on the one hand, entertained certain doubts and, on the other, sometimes hoped that we would thus get the combination of the two types of statesmen. To see whether those hopes are justified, we must now wait and consider the matter on the strength of somewhat longer experience, but in principle, I think, there can be no doubt that such a combination of temperaments and types (of men and qualities) is absolutely necessary for -the correct functioning of state institutions. I think that here it is just as harmful to exaggerate "administrating" as it is to exaggerate anything at all. The chief of a state institution must possess a high degree of personal appeal and sufficiently solid scientific and technical knowledge to be able to check people's work. That much is basic. Without it the work cannot be done properly. On the other hand, it is very important that he should be capable of administering and should have a worthy assistant, or assistants, in the matter. The combination of these two qualities in one person will hardly be found, and it is hardly necessary.

Lenin

Taken down by L. F.
December 28, 1922

VI

Continuation of the notes
on the State
Planning Commission.
December 29, 1922

The State Planning Commission is apparently developing in all respects into a commission of experts. Such an institution cannot be headed by anybody except a man with great experience and an all-round scientific education in technology. The administrative element must in essence be subsidiary. A certain independence and autonomy of the State Planning Commission is essential for the prestige of this scientific institution and depends on one thing, namely, the conscientiousness of its workers and their conscientious desire to turn our plan of economic and social development into reality.

This last quality may, of course, be found now only as an exception, for the overwhelming majority of scientists, who naturally make up the Commission, are inevitably infected with bourgeois ideas and bourgeois prejudices. The check on them from this standpoint must be the job of several persons who can form the Presidium of the Commission. These must be Communists to keep a day-to-day check on the extent of the bourgeois scientists' devotion to our cause displayed in the whole course of the work and see that they abandon bourgeois prejudices and gradually adopt the socialist standpoint. This work along the twin lines of scientific checking and pure administration should be the ideal of those who run the State Planning Commission in our Republic.

Lenin

Taken down by M. V.
December 29, 1922

Is it rational to divide the work of the State Planning Commission into separate jobs? Should we not, on the contrary, try to build up a group of permanent specialists

who would be systematically checked by the Presidium of the Commission and could solve the whole range of problems within its ambit? I think that the latter would be the more reasonable and that we must try to cut down the number of temporary and urgent tasks.

Lenin

December 29, 1922
Taken down by M. V.

VII

Continuation of the notes.
December 29, 1922

(ADDITION TO THE SECTION ON INCREASING THE NUMBER OF C.C. MEMBERS)

In increasing the number of its members, the C.C., I think, must also, and perhaps mainly, devote attention to checking and improving our administrative machinery, which is no good at all. For this we must enlist the services of highly qualified specialists, and the task of supplying those specialists must devolve upon the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection.

How are we to combine these checking specialists, people with adequate knowledge, and the new members of the C.C.? This problem must be resolved in practice.

It seems to me that the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection (as a result of its development and of our perplexity about its development) has led all in all to what we now observe, namely, to an intermediate position between a special People's Commissariat and a special function of the members of the C.C.; between an institution that inspects anything and everything and an aggregate of not very numerous but first-class inspectors, who must be well paid (this is especially indispensable in our age when everything must be paid for and inspectors are directly employed by the institutions that pay them better).

If the number of C.C. members is increased in the appropriate way, and they go through a course of state management year after year with the help of highly qualified specialists and of members of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection who are highly authoritative in every branch—then, I think, we shall successfully solve this problem which we have not managed to do for such a long time.

To sum up, 100 members of the C.C. at the most and not more than 400-500 assistants, members of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, engaged in inspecting under their direction.

Lenin

December 29, 1922
Taken down by M. V.

Continuation of the notes.
December 30, 1922

THE QUESTION OF NATIONALITIES OR "AUTONOMISATION"

I suppose I have been very remiss with respect to the workers of Russia for not having intervened energetically and decisively enough in the notorious question of autonomisation,[655] which, it appears, is officially called the question of the union of Soviet socialist republics.

When this question arose last summer, I was ill; and then in autumn I relied too much on my recovery and on the October and December plenary meetings[656] giving me an opportunity of intervening in this question. However, I did not manage to attend the October Plenary Meeting (when this question came up) or the one in December, and so the question passed me by almost completely.

I have only had time for a talk with Comrade Dzerzhinsky, who came from the Caucasus and told me how this matter stood in Georgia. I have also managed to exchange a few words with Comrade Zinoviev and express my apprehensions on this matter. From what I was told by Comrade Dzerzhinsky, who was at the head of the commission sent by the C.C. to "investigate" the Georgian incident, I could only draw the greatest apprehensions. If matters had come to such a pass that Orjonikidze could go to the extreme of applying physical violence, as Comrade Dzerzhinsky informed me, we can imagine what a mess we have got ourselves into. Obviously the whole business of "autonomisation" was radically wrong and badly timed.

It is said that a united apparatus was needed. Where did that assurance come from? Did it not come from that same Russian apparatus which, as I pointed out in one of the preceding sections of my diary, we took over from tsarism and slightly anointed with Soviet oil?

There is no doubt that that measure should have been delayed somewhat until we could say that we vouched for our apparatus as our own. But now, we must, in all conscience, admit the contrary; the apparatus we call ours is, in fact, still quite alien to us; it is a bourgeois and tsarist hotch-potch and there has been no possibility of getting rid of it in the course of the past five years without the help of other countries and because we have been "busy" most of the time with military engagements and the fight against famine.

It is quite natural that in such circumstances the "freedom to secede from the union" by which we justify ourselves will be a mere scrap of paper, unable to defend the non-Russians from the onslaught of that really Russian man, the Great-Russian chauvinist, in substance a rascal and a tyrant, such as the typical Russian bureaucrat is. There is no doubt that the infinitesimal percentage of Soviet and sovietised workers will drown in that tide of chauvinistic Great-Russian riffraff like a fly in milk.

It is said in defence of this measure that the People's Commissariats directly concerned with national psychology and national education were set up as separate bodies. But there the question arises: can these People's Commissariats be made quite independent? and secondly: were we careful enough to take measures to provide the non-Russians with a real safeguard against the truly Russian bully? I do not think we took such measures although we could and should have done so.

I think that Stalin's haste and his infatuation with pure administration, together with his spite against the notorious "nationalist-socialism", played a fatal role here. In politics spite generally plays the basest of roles.

I also fear that Comrade Dzerzhinsky, who went to the Caucasus to investigate the "crime" of those "nationalist-socialists", distinguished himself there by his truly Russian frame of mind (it is common knowledge that people of other nationalities who have become Russified overdo this Russian frame of mind) and that the impartiality of his whole commission was typified well enough by Orjonikidze's "manhandling". I think that no provocation or even insult can justify such Russian manhandling and that

Comrade Dzerzhinsky was inexcusably guilty in adopting a light-hearted attitude towards it.

For all the citizens in the Caucasus Orjonikidze was the authority. Orjonikidze had no right to display that irritability to which he and Dzerzhinsky referred. On the contrary, Orjonikidze should have behaved with a restraint which cannot be demanded of any ordinary citizen, still less of a man accused of a "political" crime. And, to tell the truth, those nationalist-socialists were citizens who were accused of a political crime, and the terms of the accusation were such that it could not be described otherwise.

Here we have an important question of principle: how is internationalism to be understood?*

Lenin

December 30, 1922
Taken down by M. V.

Continuation of the notes.
December 31, 1922

THE QUESTION OF NATIONALITIES OR "AUTONOMISATION" (Continued)

In my writings on the national question I have already said that an abstract presentation of the question of nationalism in general is of no use at all. A distinction must necessarily be made between the nationalism of an oppressor nation and that of an oppressed nation, the nationalism of a big nation and that of a small nation.

In respect of the second kind of nationalism we, nationals of a big nation, have nearly always been guilty, in historic practice, of an infinite number of cases of violence; furthermore, we commit violence and insult an infinite

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* After this the following phrase was crossed out in the shorthand text: "It seems to me that our comrades have not studied this important question of principle sufficiently."—*Ed.*

number of times without noticing it. It is sufficient to recall my Volga reminiscences of how non-Russians are treated; how the Poles are not called by any other name than Polyachishka, how the Tatar is nicknamed Prince, how the Ukrainians are always Khokhols and the Georgians and other Caucasian nationals always Kapkasians.

That is why internationalism on the part of oppressors or "great" nations, as they are called (though they are great only in their violence, only great as bullies), must consist not only in the observance of the formal equality of nations but even in an inequality of the oppressor nation, the great nation, that must make up for the inequality which obtains in actual practice. Anybody who does not understand this has not grasped the real proletarian attitude to the national question, he is still essentially petty bourgeois in his point of view and is, therefore, sure to descend to the bourgeois point of view.

What is important for the proletarian? For the proletarian it is not only important, it is absolutely essential that he should be assured that the non-Russians place the greatest possible trust in the proletarian class struggle. What is needed to ensure this? Not merely formal equality. In one way or another, by one's attitude or by concessions, it is necessary to compensate the non-Russians for the lack of trust, for the suspicious and the insults to which the government of the "dominant" nation subjected them in the past.

I think it is unnecessary to explain this to Bolsheviks, to Communists, in greater detail. And I think that in the present instance, as far as the Georgian nation is concerned, we have a typical case in which a genuinely proletarian attitude makes profound caution, thoughtfulness and a readiness to compromise a matter of necessity for us. The Georgian who is neglectful of this aspect of the question, or who carelessly flings about accusations of "nationalist-socialism" (whereas he himself is a real and true "nationalist-socialist", and even a vulgar Great-Russian bully), violates, in substance, the interests of proletarian class solidarity, for nothing holds up the development and strengthening of proletarian class solidarity so much as national injustice; "offended" nationals are not sensitive to anything

so much as to the feeling of equality and the violation of this equality, if only through negligence or jest—to the violation of that equality by their proletarian comrades. That is why in this case it is better to overdo rather than underdo the concessions and leniency towards the national minorities. That is why, in this case, the fundamental interest of proletarian solidarity, and consequently of the proletarian class struggle, requires that we never adopt a formal attitude to the national question, but always take into account the specific attitude of the proletarian of the oppressed (or small) nation towards the oppressor (or great) nation.

Lenin

Taken down by M. V.
December 31, 1922

Continuation of the notes.
December 31, 1922

What practical measures must be taken in the present situation?

Firstly, we must maintain and strengthen the union of socialist republics. Of this there can be no doubt. This measure is necessary for us and it is necessary for the world communist proletariat in its struggle against the world bourgeoisie and its defence against bourgeois intrigues.

Secondly, the union of socialist republics must be retained for its diplomatic apparatus. By the way, this apparatus is an exceptional component of our state apparatus. We have not allowed a single influential person from the old tsarist apparatus into it. All sections with any authority are composed of Communists. That is why it has already won for itself (this may be said boldly) the name of a reliable communist apparatus purged to an incomparably greater extent of the old tsarist, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois elements than that which we have had to make do with in other People's Commissariats.

Thirdly, exemplary punishment must be inflicted on Comrade Orjonikidze (I say this all the more regretfully as I am one of his personal friends and have worked with him abroad) and the investigation of all the material which Dzerzhinsky's commission has collected must be completed or started over again to correct the enormous mass of wrongs and biased judgements which it doubtlessly contains. The political responsibility for all this truly Great-Russian nationalist campaign must, of course, be laid on Stalin and Dzerzhinsky.

Fourthly, the strictest rules must be introduced on the use of the national language in the non-Russian republics of our union, and these rules must be checked with special care. There is no doubt that our apparatus being what it is, there is bound to be, on the pretext of unity in the railway service, unity in the fiscal service and so on, a mass of truly Russian abuses. Special ingenuity is necessary for the struggle against these abuses, not to mention special sincerity on the part of those who undertake this struggle. A detailed code will be required, and only the nationals living in the republic in question can draw it up at all successfully. And then we cannot be sure in advance that as a result of this work we shall not take a step backward at our next Congress of Soviets, i.e., retain the union of Soviet socialist republics only for military and diplomatic affairs, and in all other respects restore full independence to the individual People's Commissariats.

It must be borne in mind that the decentralisation of the People's Commissariats and the lack of co-ordination in their work as far as Moscow and other centres are concerned can be compensated sufficiently by Party authority, if it is exercised with sufficient prudence and impartiality; the harm that can result to our state from a lack of unification between the national apparatuses and the Russian apparatus is infinitely less than that which will be done not only to us, but to the whole International, and to the hundreds of millions of the peoples of Asia, which is destined to follow us on to the stage of history in the near future. It would be unpardonable opportunism if, on the eve of the debut of the East, just as it is awakening, we undermined our prestige with its peoples, even if only by

the slightest crudity or injustice towards our own non-Russian nationalities. The need to rally against the imperialists of the West, who are defending the capitalist world, is one thing. There can be no doubt about that and it would be superfluous for me to speak about my unconditional approval of it. It is another thing when we ourselves lapse, even if only in trifles, into imperialist attitudes towards oppressed nationalities, thus undermining all our principled sincerity, all our principled defence of the struggle against imperialism. But the morrow of world history will be a day when the awakening peoples oppressed by imperialism are finally aroused and the decisive long and hard struggle for their liberation begins.

Lenin

December 31, 1922
Taken down by M. V.

NOTES

[1] A review of D. B. Ryazanov's article, "Remarks on the *Rabocheye Dyelo* Programme", sent in by Steklov. The article was published in the journal *Zarya* (Dawn) No. 1, April 1901.

"The *Rabocheye Dyelo* Programme" ("Editorial Note") was issued in *Rabocheye Dyelo* No. 1 in April 1899 and published separately that same year under the title "Programme of *Rabocheye Dyelo*, a periodical organ of the Union of Russian Social-Democrats".

Rabocheye Dyelo (The Workers' Cause)—a magazine of the Economists, and an organ of the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad, published in Geneva from April 1899 to February 1902 and edited by B. N. Krichevsky, A. S. Martynov and V. P. Ivanshin.

A criticism of the views of *Rabocheye Dyelo* group is given in Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?* (See present edition, Vol. 5, pp. 347-529.) p. 29

[2] *Mr. Grishin's stalwarts*—an expression used by Plekhanov in a postscriptum to his publication, *Iz zapisnoi knizhki Sotsial-Demokrata* (From a Social-Democrat's Notebook), Sheet 1, Geneva, 1900, p. 6.

Grishin—the party name of T. M. Kopelsohn, the Bund's representative abroad and a member of the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad. p. 29

[3] A reference to the concluding paragraph of the first draft programme of the Emancipation of Labour group published in 1884 (not as erroneously stated in the letter). In the second draft programme (1888) it was altered into a special note appended to the draft. p. 31

[4] Karl Marx, *Der achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte* (The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, Moscow, 1960). p. 31

[5] A conference held at Bellerive near Geneva in August 1900 and attended by V. I. Lenin, N. E. Bauman, V. I. Zasulich, G. V. Plekhanov, A. N. Potresov and Y. M. Steklov. It discussed a programme for *Iskra* and *Zarya*. p. 31

[6] The addressee is unknown. p. 32

[7] *Revolutionary Sotsial-Demokrat organisation* was formed by the members of the Emancipation of Labour group and their supporters in May 1900, following the split of the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad at its Second Congress. In October 1901, on Lenin's proposal, the revolutionary *Sotsial-Demokrat* organisation united with the *Iskra* organisation abroad into the League of Russian Revolutionary Social-Democracy Abroad. p. 32

[8] A reference to the newspaper *Iskra*. p. 32

[9] The Literary Group, consisting of Lenin, L. Martov and A. N. Potresov, was set up on Lenin's initiative after his return from exile in early 1900. Its main task and programme of action were to organise an all-Russia political newspaper and unite the best Social-Democratic forces around it. p. 32

[10] *Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad* was set up in Geneva in 1894 on the initiative of the Emancipation of Labour group. It had its own printing press for issuing revolutionary literature and published the journal *Rabotnik* (Worker). Initially, the Emancipation of Labour group directed the Union and edited its publications. But afterwards opportunist elements ("the young" or Economists) gained the upper hand within the Union. At the Union's first congress in November 1898, the Emancipation of Labour group announced that it would no longer edit the Union's publications. The final break and the group's withdrawal from the Union took place at the Union's second congress in April 1900; the Emancipation of Labour group and its followers walked out of the congress and set up an independent organisation, *Sotsial-Demokrat*. p. 32

[11] A reference to A. I. Yelizarova. p. 34

[12] *Family Pictures*—a journal which was used for the secret transmission of reports or articles for *Iskra*. p. 34

[13] *Die Neue Zeit*—a theoretical journal of the German Social-Democratic Party, published in Stuttgart from 1883 to 1923. Up to October 1917, it was edited by K. Kautsky and then by Heinrich Cunow. p. 34

[14] A reference to A. N. Potresov. p. 34

[15] A reference to the draft declaration of the Editorial Board of *Iskra* on the publication of a newspaper. It was drawn up by Lenin in late March and early April 1900 (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 320-30). The draft was rewritten by Lenin when he arrived abroad, after the August 1900 conference with members of the Emancipation of Labour group (G. V. Plekhanov, P. B. Axelrod, and V. I. Zasulich). In the first half of October, the declaration was published as a leaflet (ibid., pp. 351-56).

In contrast to the original draft, which set forth a programme for the two organs—newspaper and journal—the declaration issued by the *Iskra* editors concerned only the newspaper, it having been decided that the tasks of the journal *Zarya* would be dealt with separately, in its first issue. For reasons of secrecy it was decided not to circulate the declaration abroad until it reached Russia. p. 34

[16] A reference to the Marxist scientific and political journal *Zarya* and its "responsible editor" as required by German press laws. p. 34

[17] A reference to P. B. Axelrod's article, "Wilhelm Liebknecht", carried in *Iskra* No. 1. Apart from this short article on the death of the prominent leader of the German and international working-class movement, Axelrod was also writing a long article for *Zarya*, which, however, was not published. p. 34

[18] A reference to the congress of the Second International and the congress of the French Socialist Party held in Paris in September 1900. Neither *Iskra* nor *Zarya* carried E. L. Gurevich's or Y. M. Steklov's article on the subject. p. 35

[19] *Zagorskaya* (I. G. Smidovich-Lehmann) was the secretary of *Iskra*'s editorial office until the arrival of N. K. Krupskaya in April 1901. p. 36

[20] *The Parisians* (D. B. Ryazanov, Y. M. Steklov, E. L. Gurevich)—representatives of the *Borba* literary group abroad. Lenin called them "Parisians" because they then lived in that city.

In his letter to Axelrod Lenin apparently refers to the difficulties in the talks with them concerning their work on *Iskra* on a permanent basis, in view of their claims for a say in editorial policy (see pp. 67-68, 69-70). p. 36

[21] The pamphlet was compiled by the Kharkov Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. and published in January 1901 by *Iskra*. It described the first mass demonstration by Kharkov workers on May Day in 1900. It appeared abroad with a preface by Lenin (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 357-65). p. 36

[22] Axelrod's advice in his letter to Lenin of October 15, 1900, dealt with the editing of letters from Russia for *Iskra*. His idea was to make use of some letters together with other material for domestic reviews or editorials (see *Lenin Miscellany III*, p. 66). p. 37

[23] The police were very eager to know the whereabouts of Lenin, and, in general, of the whole group which subsequently constituted *Iskra*'s Editorial Board. *Obzor zhandarmskikh doznany za 1901 god* (Review of Gendarme Investigations for 1901) stated that Lenin was living in Munich and working for *Iskra*. The police also knew that A. N. Potresov was in Munich. In the circum-

stances, Potresov's trip to Russia mentioned in the letter was a hazardous undertaking. p. 37

[24] A reference to a delay in the printing of *Iskra* and *Zarya*. p. 37

[25] The statement on *Iskra*'s publication whose draft and final test were written by Lenin (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 320-30, 351-56). The idea was to send it to the Russian Social-Democratic Society in New York of which S. M. Ingerman was secretary (see p. 46). p. 40

[26] *St. Petersburg group*—the *Rabocheye Znamya* group emerged in the second half of 1897. It took a negative attitude to Economism. It set itself the aim of conducting political propaganda among the workers and published the newspaper *Rabocheye Znamya* (Workers' Banner), of which three issues appeared. It also published several pamphlets and proclamations. Among its leaders were S. V. Andropov, V. P. Nogin and M. B. Smirnov. In January 1901, the St. Petersburg *Rabocheye Znamya* group merged with the *Sotsialist* group, but from January to April those leaders of the united group who were in Russia were arrested. Most of the members of the St. Petersburg *Rabocheye Znamya* group joined the *Iskra* organisation.

Lenin refers to S. V. Andropov, a Social-Democrat and an active member of the *Rabocheye Znamya* group, subsequently one of *Iskra*'s first agents. p. 41

[27] The "special reasons" meaning the need for secrecy. J. H. W. Dietz, at whose printing press in Stuttgart the journal *Zarya* was printed, feared harassment by the police in the event they found out that the journal was in some way connected with the illegal *Iskra*. *Iskra* was then printed in Leipzig. p. 41

[28] *St. Petersburg Workers' Organisation*—an Economist organisation set up in the summer of 1900. Its appeal "To the Workers of All Factories", published in its newspaper *Rabochaya Mysl* (Workers' Thought) No. 9, September 1900, called on the workers to organise circles for the working out of a programme of struggle and for mutual assistance. In the autumn of 1900, the Workers' Organisation merged with the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. The programme and charter of this united organisation were carried in *Rabochaya Mysl* No. 11 in April 1901.

Following the victory of the *Iskra* trend within the St. Petersburg Committee and its recognition of the newspaper *Iskra* and the journal *Zarya* as the leading Social-Democratic organs, a section of the St. Petersburg organisation under the influence and leadership of the proponents of Economism split off from the St. Petersburg Committee in September 1902 and once again formed a separate organisation called the Committee for Workers'

Organisation, which rejoined the Party organisation after the Second Congress of the Party in early 1904. p. 42

[29] *Nakanune* (On the Eve)—a Narodnik monthly published in Russian in London from January 1899 to February 1902, under the editorship of Y. A. Serebryakov. There were a total of 37 issues. p. 43

[30] A reference to Axelrod's article, "Wilhelm Liebknecht". p. 45

[31] L. Martov's article, "New Friends of the Russian Proletariat", appeared in No. 1 of *Iskra* in December 1900. p. 45

[32] A reference to the *Borba* group (D. B. Ryazanov, Y. M. Steklov and E. L. Gurevich), which emerged in Paris in the summer of 1900 and was formed into a separate group in 1901, following the "unity" conference. The group's publications distorted Marxist theory, rejected *Iskra*'s revolutionary tactics and took a hostile attitude to Lenin's organisational principles of party building. In view of these departures from Social-Democratic views and tactics, its splitting activities and lack of contact with Social-Democratic organisations in Russia, the group was not allowed to attend the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. and was dissolved by its decision. p. 45

[33] A reference to L. Martov. p. 46

[34] During preparations for the publication of *Iskra*, differences on the place of publication arose between Lenin and A. N. Potresov, on the one hand, and G. V. Plekhanov and P. B. Axelrod, on the other. The latter opposed *Iskra*'s publication in Germany and wanted to have it issued in Switzerland, under their immediate direction. Lenin and Potresov opposed this. Following the conference in Corsier (near Geneva) m August 1900 with members of the Emancipation of Labour group, Lenin and Potresov decided that in the interest of the cause *Iskra* and *Zarya* should be published in Germany. The essence of these differences of principle was described by Lenin in "How the 'Spark' Was Nearly Extinguished" (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 333-49). Lenin and Potresov won out and the publication of *Iskra* was started in Germany, initially in Leipzig and then in Munich. *Zarya* was published legally in Stuttgart. p. 46

[35] See pp. 39-40. p. 47

[36] The article by Puttman (the pen-name of A. N. Potresov), "What Has Happened?", and the article by Byvaly (the pen-name of Bogucharsky [V. Y. Yakovlev]), "About the Old and the New", to which the reference is made in the letter, were carried in *Zarya* No. 1 in April 1901. The article by D. Koltsov (B. A. Ginzburg) on the international congress in Paris did not appear in *Zarya*. p. 48

[37] A reference to G. V. Plekhanov's article, "A Few Words about the Latest International Socialist Congress in Paris (An Open Letter to the Comrades Who Have Authorised Me as Their Delegate)", which was carried in *Zarya* No. 1 in April 1901. p. 48

[38] *Bakharev*—the pen-name of V. P. Makhnovets. The reference is to his pamphlet, "How to Behave at Interrogations", Geneva, 1900, issued by the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad. p. 49

[39] The name of the pamphlet is unknown. p. 49

[40] V. I. Zasulich's article on the Decembrists did not appear in the press. On December 14 (27), 1900, Plekhanov spoke at a meeting of Russian political émigrés in Geneva on "The 14th of December, 1825". This speech was published in *Zarya* No. 1 in April 1901. p. 50

[41] A reference to G. V. Plekhanov's article, "Once More on Socialism and the Political Struggle", carried in *Zarya* No. 1 in April 1901. p. 50

[42] See present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 255-85. p. 50

[43] G. V. Plekhanov did not write the item because he included the gist of it in his article, "Once More on Socialism and the Political Struggle". p. 51

[44] A reference to the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class founded by Lenin in the autumn of 1895. p. 51

[45] A reference to the Economist trend, which emerged in Vilna in the mid-1890s. It was led by A. I. Kremer, who issued a pamphlet in 1896, entitled "On Agitation". The St. Petersburg trend, which arose later, was led by Takhtarev and others. p. 52

[46] Lenin's article, "The Urgent Tasks of Our Movement", was published as an editorial in *Iskra* No. 1, in December 1900 (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 366-71). p. 53

[47] A reference to the Programme of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class and the Charter of the Allied Workers' Organisation. The propositions set out in the documents served as a basis for agreement on the merger of these organisations in the autumn of 1900. p. 53

[48] On the reverse of the title page of *Zarya*'s first issue was the following inscription: "*Verantwortlich für die Redaktion*: *K. Fentz in Stuttgart*" (Responsible Editor: K. Fentz in Stuttgart).

K. Fentz—Y. S. Ettinger, a Social-Democrat, who joined *Iskra* in 1900, a member of the League of Russian Revolutionary

Social-Democracy Abroad; she subsequently sided with the Mensheviks. p. 53

[49] A reference to the fact that I. G. Smidovich-Lehmann was expecting a child. p. 55

[50] There was no article in *Iskra* No. 1 on French affairs by Danevich (E. L. Gurevich). His first article, "Letters from France. Letter One", appeared in *Iskra* No. 6 in July 1901. No articles by Danevich on the subject were carried by *Zarya*. p. 55

[51] A reference to the transportation of *Iskra* literature to Russia via the Baltic provinces, which was undertaken by Latvian students, Ernests Rolau and Eduards Skubiks, who were then resident in Zurich. It later turned out that the police had been aware of the existence of this transportation group; both consignments of *Iskra* publications organised by Rolau and Skubiks in December 1900 and June 1901 had been confiscated. Transportation was finally organised in mid-1901. p. 55

[52] A reference to the article by Lubov Axelrod (Orthodox), "Why We Don't Want to Go Back?" (on the book written by the liberal, subsequently a reactionary, N. A. Berdayev, *Subjectivism and Individualism in Social Philosophy*) carried in *Zarya*'s double issue No. 2-3 in December 1901. p. 56

[53] A reference to I. S. Blumenfeld, then an *Iskra* compositor in Leipzig.

Preparations for publishing *Iskra* and *Zarya* abroad were assigned to A. N. Potresov, who went abroad for that purpose in April 1900. With the assistance of German Social-Democrats, the setting of *Iskra* was arranged in German Social-Democratic printing presses first in Leipzig and then in Munich. *Zarya* was published legally in Stuttgart by Dietz.

Blumenfeld apparently needed the Nusperli passport for registration in Leipzig. p. 57

[54] The article, "The International Socialist Congress in Paris", by Kh. G. Rakovsky, was published in *Iskra* No. 1 in December 1900. p. 57

[55] A reference to one of G. V. Plekhanov's articles which appeared in *Zarya* No. 1 in April 1901. p. 57

[56] A reference to the amendments to Lenin's article, "The Split in the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad" (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 378-79) on which G. V. Plekhanov insisted in his letter to Lenin on December 8, 1900 (see *Lenin Miscellany III*, p. 116). p. 58

[57] A reference to F. Adler's article on Austrian affairs which he was to write for *Iskra*. The article did not appear in the paper. p. 59

[58] Lenin travelled from Munich to Leipzig to put the finishing touches to the first issue of *Iskra*. p. 61

[59] A reference to Axelrod's article, "The Results Achieved by International Social-Democrats". p. 61

[60] A reference to G. V. Plekhanov's article, "Criticism of Our Critics. Part One. Mr. Struve as Critic of Marx's Theory of Social Development. Article One", published in *Zarya* No. 1, April 1901. p. 61

[61] A reference to F. Engels's *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*. p. 63

[62] A reference to *Iskra*. p. 63

[63] While in exile in Shushenskoye, Lenin read and translated into Russian Kautsky's *Bernstein und das sozialdemokratische Programm. Eine Antikritik* (Bernstein and the Social-Democratic Programme. An Anti-Critique). In 1905, it was published under the title, *K. Kautsky. A Collection of Articles* without any mention of the translator's name. The second edition in 1906 said: "Translated by Lenin." p. 63

[64] The article, *Socialism, Trade-Unionism and Political Action* by H. M. Hyndman, was ordered by S. V. Andropov for *Rabocheye Znamya* No. 3, but was never published. The English original and Lenin's translation are now at the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee. p. 64

[65] The full name of "Alexei" (Martov) is Yuli Osipovich Tsederbaum. p. 65

[66] *Iskra* No. 1. p. 66

[67] In starting the newspaper *Iskra* and the journal *Zarya*, Lenin set the task of uniting around the editorial board all Russian Social-Democrats who could be of use for literary work. That is why he tried to have the small *Borba* group work with *Iskra*, though it was not important either ideologically and politically or in respect of ties with the workers' mass movement. p. 67

[68] A reference to the talks between the *Iskra* editorial board and P. Struve, on behalf of the liberals, about the publication of a general political supplement to *Zarya* called *Sovremennoye obozreniye* (Contemporary Review). The talks lasted through January 1901 (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 380-82; Vol. 34, pp. 55-57). They were subsequently broken off and no supplement appeared. p. 67

[69] Lenin went to Prague and Vienna to obtain a consular passport for N. K. Krupskaya for a trip to Germany. p. 71

[70] The article "Autocracy and Finance" was published in *Iskra* No. 4. p. 71

[71] *Iskra* No. 2. p. 72

[72] The identity of the "doctor's group" is unknown. p. 73

[73] *Iskra*'s representative in Berlin was M. G. Vecheslov. p. 73

[74] Illegal *Iskra* and *Zarya* literature was transported to Russia in double-bottomed suitcases. p. 73

[75] St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class was transporting its illegal literature through Finland and Stockholm as early as the end of the 18909. Transportation was organised by K. H. Branting, a Swedish Social-Democrat, Garder, a Norwegian Social-Democrat, and A. Weidel, a Swedish worker who settled in Finland for that purpose. But Garder's arrest in 1900 disrupted the arrangement and the route via Finland. A route running from Stockholm to Abo and across the Russian frontier was restarted in 1901.

In the letter Lenin asks about the results of efforts to resume transportation across Finland. p. 73

[76] The letter was an exhibit at the Royal Library exposition in Stockholm in 1955. It was first published in Sweden on March 8, 1955, in *Morgon-Tidningen* (Morning Newspaper) No. 65, and then on March 11, in *Helsingin Sanomat* (Helsinki News) No. 68. p. 76

[77] A reference to the following incident. On April 5, 1901, Russian students in Geneva staged a demonstration in front of the Russian Consulate in protest against the harassment of political émigrés. The Russian Government took the occasion to exercise pressure on the Swiss authorities to secure the deportation of prominent political expatriates, chiefly Plekhanov, from Switzerland. However, Plekhanov was able to prove that he had nothing to do with the demonstration. Members of *Iskra*'s Editorial Board had feared an unfavourable outcome. p. 78

[78] *Promyshlenny Mir* (Industrial World)—a financial, economic, commercial, industrial and technical weekly published in St. Petersburg from November 1899 to 1905.

S. Frank, *Marx's Theory of Value and Its Importance. Critical Essay*, St. Petersburg, 1900. Plekhanov's review of the book was published in *Zarya*'s double issue No. 2-3 in December 1901. p. 78

[79] *Na Slavnom Postu* (At a Glorious Post)—a literary collection published by the Narodniks to mark the 40th anniversary (1860-1900) of the literary and social activity of N. K. Mikhailovsky, one of their ideologists. It contained articles by N. Annensky,

N. Karyshev, P. Milyukov, N. Mikhailovsky, P. Mokievsky, V. Myakotin, A. Peshekhonov, M. Rafailov, N. Rubakin, V. Semevsky, V. Chernov, A. Chuprov, S. Yuzhakov and others. Neither *Iskra* nor *Zarya* published any review of the book. p. 78

[80] Lenin is replying to Plekhanov on the question of *Iskra*'s tactics and slogans for marking May 1, 1901 in Russia as set forth in May Day *Listok* "*Iskry*". In a letter to the Munich section of *Iskra*'s Editorial Board on April 19, Plekhanov wrote that the workers in Russia should not be urged to demonstrate during the May Day celebrations, because the government would jump at the occasion to shed blood and the workers would be defeated. Plekhanov believed that the main task at the time was to build up local Social-Democratic organisations. The letter shows that in the concrete historical situation Lenin was in agreement with Plekhanov. p. 78

[81] *Narodnoye Khozyaistvo* (The National Economy)—a socio-economic magazine, published from 1900 to 1905 in St. Petersburg, first as a monthly, then as a bi-monthly. p. 78

[82] The bulletins were to be published by the *Iskra* promotion group in Berlin, but were not because of a shortage of money and material.

The Neutral Group of Social-Democrats in Berlin was formed round V. A. Bazarov in the autumn of 1900 and set itself the task of healing the split between the supporters of *Rabocheye Dyelo* and the Emancipation of Labour group after the Second Congress of the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad. Among its members were also M. G. Vecheslov and I. B. Basovsky. According to Bazarov, the group sent its representatives to Geneva in early 1900 to persuade the *Iskra* and the *Sotsial-Demokrat* organisations to be reconciled with the Union. The group issued three or four political proclamations and was disbanded in the summer of 1901. p. 79

[83] Beginning with issue No. 4 in May 1901, *Iskra* appeared periodically, once or twice a month. p. 79

[84] The *Sotsialist* group was organised in St. Petersburg in the summer of 1900; its members were dissatisfied with the Economist trend of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle. The group laid emphasis on political struggle. In January 1901, it merged with the *Rabocheye Znamya* (Workers' Banner) group, but after the arrests in the spring of 1901 the group broke up. p. 81

[85] Two May Day leaflets were issued in 1901: in April, *Listok* "*Iskry*" (*Iskra*'s leaflet) signed by the *Iskra* organisation, and the all-Party leaflet, *Pervoye Maya* (The First of May), adopted at a conference of several Southern committees at the beginning of February. A comparison of the two shows that the latter pursued

the general aims of spreading socialist ideas among the masses, whereas the former put forward slogans of political struggle against the autocracy, in response to the broad student movement which had been revolutionised by workers' participation. p. 81

[86] *2a 3b*—P. N. Lepeshinsky, —*r*— — —P. A. Krasikov. p. 82

[87] *Deb.*—V. K. Debogory-Mokrievich, a revolutionary Narodnik of the 1870s, who lived in Bulgaria from 1894 and died there. In 1901, the *Zarya* Editorial Board asked him for some extract from his memoirs. Although he agreed, and the members of the editorial board corresponded on the subject, his memoirs were not published in *Zarya*. p. 84

[88] The conference mentioned here was held in Geneva in June 1901. It was attended by the representatives of *Iskra*, *Zarya*, the *Borba* and the *Rabocheye Dyelo* groups, the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad, the Bund and the revolutionary *Sotsial-Demokrat* organisation. It was preliminary, and the final decisions were put off until the "Unity" Conference in October 1901, at which the *Rabocheye Dyelo* and the *Iskra* groups formally split up. p. 84

[89] *Listok Rabochego Dyela* (*Rabocheye Dyelo* Supplement) was published by the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad in Geneva, at irregular intervals, in 1900 and 1901.

Its No. 7 appeared in April 1901 and dealt with the student movement. p. 84

[90] A reference to the events of May 4 and 7, 1901, in St. Petersburg, in Vyborgskaya Storona and at the Obukhov Steel Works (known as "Obukhov defence"). *Iskra* No. 5 (June 1901) carried a letter, "May Day in Russia", and Lenin's article, "Another Massacre" (see present edition, Vol. 5, pp. 25-30). p. 85

[91] The author was I. V. Babushkin. His report, "Ivanovo-Voznesensk", appeared in *Iskra* No. 5, June 1901, in its section "May Day in Russia". Babushkin's role in the Russian Social-Democratic movement (until his execution in Siberia by a tsarist punitive expedition in 1905), in establishing *Iskra* and in supplying it with workers' reports, is described in detail in Lenin's obituary in *Rabochaya Gazeta* No. 2, December 18 (31), 1910 (see present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 361-64). p. 85

[92] A reference to Nevzorov's (Y. Steklov) article, "Well, Where Do We Begin?", directed against Lenin's "Where To Begin?" (see present edition, Vol. 5, pp. 13-24) published in *Iskra* No. 4, May 1901, as a leading article. For Lenin's assessment of Nevzorov's article see present edition, Vol. 34, p. 75. p. 87

[93] Lenin's article written in June 1901, entitled "The Persecutors of the Zemstvo and the Hannibals of Liberalism". It criticises

the secret minute of the tsarist Minister Witte, "The Autocracy and the Zemstvo", and the preface written by the Liberal, P. B. Struve (R. N. S.), published abroad illegally. The article was published in the *Zarya*'s double issue No. 2-3, December 1901 (see present edition, Vol. 5, pp. 31-80).

For over a month, members of *Iskra*'s Editorial Board polemised over the article in their letters. Lenin accepted some of the proposals to reword some of his formulations but flatly refused to modify the sharply accusatory tone and tenor of the article (see present edition, Vol. 34, pp. 83-84, and p. 91 of this volume). p. 87

[94] On Lenin's initiative, *Iskra*'s editorial board started to draft the R.S.D.L.P. Programme in the summer of 1901. The draft was published in *Iskra* No. 21, June 1, 1902. p. 88

[95] V. P. Nogin and S. V. Andropov. p. 88

[96] P. B. Axelrod's item, "The Latest Electoral Victory of the Austrian Workers", dealing with V. Adler's election to the Lower Austria Landtag, was published in *Iskra* No. 6, July 1901. p. 88

[97] P. Scriptum to Orthodox's article was written by the author, L. I. Axelrod, for her article "Why Don't We Want to Go Back?", on N. A. Berdayev's article "Struggle for Idealism", which appeared in the magazine *Mir Bozhy* (God's World) No. 6, June 1901. The latter, a liberal, later became a reactionary.

Lenin and G. V. Plekhanov insisted on the publication of P. Scriptum, but on a majority decision of the Board (Y. O. Martov, V. I. Zasulich and A. N. Potresov) the article was published without P. Scriptum in *Zarya* No. 2-3, December 1901. p. 89

[98] Members of *Iskra*'s Editorial Board nicknamed A. N. Potresov and V. I. Zasulich the "Struvefreundliche Partei" (Party friendly to Struve). p. 89

[99] A reference to Lenin's article "The Persecutors of the Zemstvo and the Hannibals of Liberalism" (see present edition, Vol. 5, pp. 31-80). p. 89

[100] E. Vandervelde, *La propriété foncière en Belgique* (Land Property in Belgium), Paris, 1900. p. 89

[101] A reference to G. V. Plekhanov's editorial remarks on Lenin's article, "The Persecutors of the Zemstvo and the Hannibals of Liberalism". p. 91

[102] *Vorbote* (Herald)—a monthly, the central organ of the German section of the First International; published in Geneva from 1866 to 1871. p. 92

[103] A reference in V. M. Chernov's article, "Types of Capitalist and Agrarian Evolution", to Rittinghausen's proposal that society

should transfer land for use by "solidarised communities" which he tabled in the agrarian commission of the Fourth Congress of the First International in Basle in 1869 and which was adopted by a majority. p. 92

[104] See Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Band 19, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1962, S. 316-30. p. 92

[105] A series of articles by W. Wolff published under this title in *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in March and April 1849. In 1886, the articles, with some changes, were published in pamphlet form with a preface by F. Engels, "On the History of the Prussian Peasantry" (see Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Band 21, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1962, S. 238-47). p. 93

[106] A reference to Lenin's work, "The Agrarian Question and the 'Critics of Marx'" (see present edition, Vol. 5, pp. 103-222). p. 95

[107] A reference to Lenin's article, "The Persecutors of the Zemstvo and the Hannibals of Liberalism". See Note 93. p. 96

[108] A reference to the "Unity" Conference of R.S.D.L.P. Organisations Abroad held in Zurich on October 4 and 5, 1901. It was attended by six members of the *Iskra* and *Zarya* organisation abroad (among them V. I. Lenin, N. K. Krupskaya and Y. O. Martov), eight members of the *Sotsial-Demokrat* organisation (including three members of the Emancipation of Labour group: G. V. Plekhanov, P. B. Axelrod and V. I. Zasulich), 16 members of the Union of Russian Social-Democrats (including five members of the Bund's Committee Abroad), and three members of the *Borba* group. On the first item of the agenda, "Agreement in Principle and Instructions to Editorial Boards", Lenin, who attended the Congress under the name of Frey, delivered an eloquent speech, exposing the Union's opportunist activity. This was Lenin's first public speech before Russian Social-Democrats abroad. When the opportunist amendments and addenda to the June resolution, adopted by the Third Congress of the Union of Russian Social-Democrats, were announced at the Congress, the revolutionary section of the Congress (members of the *Iskra* and *Zarya* and the *Sotsial-Demokrat* organisations) read out a statement saying that unity was impossible and left the Congress. On Lenin's initiative, these organisations in October 1901 united into the League of Russian Revolutionary Social-Democracy Abroad. p. 96

[109] *Iskra* No. 7. p. 96

[110] A reference to Lenin's article "The Serf-Owners at Work" (see present edition, Vol. 5, pp. 95-100). p. 96

[111] A reference to the article "In Defence of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk Workers" by I. V. Babushkin, which was signed "A Worker for

Workers" and appeared in a special supplement to *Iskra* No. 9, October 1901. It was in reply to V. Dadonov's article, "Russian Manchester (Letters About Ivanovo-Voznesensk)", published in *Russkoye Bogatstvo* No. 12, 1900.

Russkoye Bogatstvo (Russian Wealth)—a monthly magazine published in St. Petersburg from 1876 to mid-1918. In the early 1890s, it was an organ of the liberal Narodniks. Beginning with 1906, it actually became an organ of the Popular Socialists, a semi-Cadet party. p. 97

[112] *Review of Home Affairs* for *Zarya*'s double issue No. 2-3, 1901, was written by Lenin (see present edition, Vol. 5, pp. 251-301).

A review of foreign affairs for the same issue of *Zarya* was written by Y. O. Martov and signed "Ignotus". It dealt with the Lübeck Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party. p. 97

[113] A reference to the "Unity" Conference of R.S.D.L.P. Organisations Abroad held in Zurich (see Note 108). Before the Conference, E. Gurevich-Danevich, a representative of the *Borba* group, went to Zurich and then to Munich for talks with *Iskra*'s editors. p. 98

[114] A reference to Lenin's book, *What Is To Be Done? Burning Questions of Our Movement* (see present edition, Vol. 5, pp. 347-529). p. 100

[115] Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *The History of Trade Unionism*. The first volume of the book, translated by Lenin and N. K. Krupskaya, was published in 1900; the second volume, edited by Lenin, in November 1901. p. 100

[116] G. V. Plekhanov attended the I.S.B. conference in Brussels on December 30, 1901 (Plekhanov and B. N. Krichevsky were elected to the Bureau at the Paris Congress of the Second International in 1900). *Iskra* No. 15 of January 15, 1902, carried Plekhanov's report on the conference, entitled "From Brussels. A Letter to *Iskra*'s Editorial Board". p. 104

[117] See N. K. Krupskaya's letter to L. I. Goldman and S. O. Tsederbaum of August 1901, in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*, pp. 196-97. p. 105

[118] A reference to the connection between *Iskra*'s Kishinev and Baku printing shops and the centralised transportation arrangements by I. B. Basovsky. p. 105

[119] Lenin informed Lyubov Axelrod of the publication of the articles by P. B. Struve and S. N. Bulgakov and sent her the clippings from *Novoye Slovo* (New Word), Vol. 8, May 1897. Axelrod used the material in her article, "Some Philosophical Exercises by Certain 'Critics'", which was directed against Struve and Bulgakov, and appeared in *Zarya* No. 4, August 1902. p. 106

[120] *Sozialistische Monatshefte* (Socialist Monthly)—the main organ of German opportunists and an organ of international revisionism, published in Berlin from 1897 to 1933. During the First World War it took a social-chauvinist stand. p. 106

[121] A reference to the second draft Party Programme drawn up by Plekhanov.

The "settlement in committee" consisted in agreeing two draft programmes—Lenin's and Plekhanov's—in a co-ordinating committee appointed by the *Iskra* Editorial Board to work out a single draft programme of the R.S.D.L.P. Prospective members for the committee were Martov, Zasulich, Dan or Deutsch (see *Lenin Miscellany II*, pp. 91-92).

The draft agreement did not "fall through", as Lenin had feared: Plekhanov agreed to a settlement in committee, and the agreed draft was approved by the *Iskra* Editorial Board in Zurich on April 14, 1902, in Lenin's absence. The draft Programme of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, worked out by the Editorial Board of *Iskra* and *Zarya*, was published in *Iskra* No. 21 on June 1, 1902. p. 107

[122] A reference to P. B. Axelrod's article which he intended to issue in pamphlet form as a supplement to *Iskra*. The article, entitled "The Emergence in Our Country of Bourgeois Democracy as an Independent Revolutionary Force", appeared only in 1906 in a collection of his articles, *The Struggle of Socialist and Bourgeois Trends in the Russian Revolutionary Movement.* p. 107

[123] The departure of the Munich section of *Iskra*'s Editorial Board (Lenin, V. I. Zasulich and Y. O. Martov; A. N. Potresov was unwell and stayed in Switzerland) for London was discussed in March 1902 when it was informed that the Russian and German police had got wind of the publication of *Iskra* in Germany. In late March, the question was settled and Lenin and N. K. Krupskaya left Munich for London on April 12. Martov and Zasulich arrived later. p. 108

[124] *Kanun revolutsii* (Eve of Revolution)—a non-periodical publication of the *Svoboda* (Freedom) group, edited by Y. O. Zelensky (L. Nadezhdin). No review of its No. 1 appeared in *Zarya*. p. 108

[125] A reference to Lenin's notes on G. V. Plekhanov's second draft programme (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 35-55) the MS. of which was kept by A. N. Potresov until April 2. For Potresov's opinion of Lenin's notes, see *Lenin Miscellany II*, pp. 105-07. p. 108

[126] A "Congress" or meeting of *Iskra*'s editorial board was proposed in P. B. Axelrod's letter to Lenin of March 25, 1902 (see *Lenin Miscellany II*, pp. 99-101). Lenin refused to attend. The meeting between G. V. Plekhanov, V. I. Zasulich, P. B. Axelrod and Y. O. Martov was held in Zurich on April 14, 1902, where they

discussed and adopted a draft programme worked out by a commission, which had adopted Plekhanov's draft as a basis but with amendments suggested in Lenin's counter-draft and remarks. p. 108

[127] *Sotsial-Demokratichesky Kalendar na 1902 god* (Social-Democratic Calendar for 1902) was issued by the *Borba* group in Geneva in 1902. p. 109

[128] *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya* (Revolutionary Russia)—an illegal paper of the League of Socialist-Revolutionaries published in Russia from late 1900 (No. 1 dated 1900 actually appeared in January 1901). It was published in Geneva from January 1902 to December 1905 as an organ of the S.R. Party. p. 109

[129] A reference to the re-establishment of the Organising Committee for convening the Party's Second Congress, as the first committee, elected at the Belostok conference, had nearly all been arrested. N. K. Krupskaya, informing F. V. Lengnik of this, wrote in her letter: "Of all those elected to the committee for preparing the Congress, only one man, a Bundist, escaped arrest. We are sending him to you, and the two of you will have to make preparations for the Congress. But you must be diplomatic with him and not show your hand" (see *Lenin Miscellany VIII*, p. 238). In this way Lengnik was to be co-opted to the Organising Committee. A month later, Lenin wrote about it to I. I. Radchenko in St. Petersburg (see pp. 113-14).

The "Bundist" was K. Portnoi. p. 112

[130] *Bund*—General Jewish Workers' Union of Lithuania, Poland and Russia; was founded in 1897. It consisted mainly of Jewish handicraftsmen from Russia's Western regions. The Bund conducted a nationalist and separatist policy in the Russian working-class movement. Inside the R.S.D.L.P. it supported opportunist and Menshevik views. p. 112

[131] From the end of June to mid-July 1902, Lenin lived in Loguivy (on the northern coast of France) together with his mother, M. A. Ulyanova, and his sister, A. I. Yelizarova. p. 115

[132] A reference to an unsigned editorial note to a letter from Vilna (about the mass corporal punishment of demonstrators arrested on May Day). It was published in *Iskra* No. 21, June 1, 1902, in the "From Our Social Life" section, and dealt with the attempt on the life of the Vilna Governor von Wal by the worker G. D. Lekkert (Lekukha). Lenin and *Iskra* had repeatedly exposed the harmful effect of individual acts of terrorism on the mass workers' movement, and in the event censured Martov and Zasulich who approved of Lekkert's act.

Further on, there is a reference to G. V. Plekhanov's article on Lekkert's act, which was to be published in *Iskra*'s next issue. Plekhanov accepted Lenin's proposal and wrote an editorial for

Iskra No. 22, entitled "The Russian Working Class and the Police Whipping". p. 115

[133] Lenin's letter makes it clear that L. D. Deutsch, a member of the League's administration intended to call (in Switzerland) a congress of *Iskra* workers in Russia considering that, at that time, some of them, including P. N. Lepeshinsky, V. A. Noskov and F. I. Shchekoldin, were abroad. The idea of the congress must have come from Noskov and Shchekoldin, members of the Northern League of the R.S.D.L.P., who were in Zurich and who had made a number of proposals concerning the organisation of *Iskra* (see present edition, Vol. 34, pp. 110-13). Lepeshinsky also favoured a congress, as did G. V. Plekhanov and P. B. Axelrod. No congress was held. p. 117

[134] *Sonya* was the secret name for the *Iskra* centre in Samara. p. 117

[135] A reference to the volume and page of S. N. Bulgakov's book, *Capitalism and Agriculture*, in a note to "The Agrarian Programme of Russian Social-Democracy" (see present edition, Vol. 6, p. 122) which was then being proof-read and was to appear in *Zarya* No. 4. p. 118

[136] See present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 174-79. p. 119

[137] *Manya*—a code name for the Committee of Workers' Organisation in St. Petersburg. p. 119

[138] *Vanya*—a code name for the St. Petersburg Committee. p. 119

[139] The Central Committee of the St. Petersburg organisation uniting the St. Petersburg League of Struggle and the Workers' Organisation. p. 119

[140] To send for political literature to Vardö (Norway).
The composition of the group transporting literature via Vardö has not been established. p. 120

[141] *Sasha*—a code name for the Second Congress of the Party. p. 120

[142] Speeches in the tsarist court were delivered on October 28-31 (November 10-13), 1902, by P. A. Zalomov, A. I. Bykov, M. I. Samylin and a number of other workers from Sormovo and Nizhni-Novgorod who were put on trial for their participation in the demonstrations on May 1 and 5 (14 and 18), 1902. Out of 23 organisers and leaders of the demonstration who had been arrested, 13 were sentenced to exile in Siberia for life. The speeches were initially published by the Nizhni-Novgorod Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. as leaflets, and then reprinted in *Iskra* No. 29 on. December 1, 1902, under the title "Nizhni-Novgorod Workers on Trial", with a preface by Lenin.

For Lenin's assessment of their behaviour at the trial see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 280-81. p. 124

[143] G. V. Plekhanov promised to analyse K. Tarasov's (N. S. Rusanov) article "The Evolution of the Russian Socialist Thinking" published in *Vestnik Russkoi Revolutsii* (Herald of the Russian Revolution). But he did it not for *Iskra*, but in his preface to A. Tun's *History of Revolutionary Movements in Russia* (1903). p. 125

[144] *Narodnaya Volya* (People's Will)—a secret political Narodnik terrorist organisation which came into being in August 1879, after the split in the Narodnik *Zemlya i Volya* (Land and Freedom) society. p. 125

[145] *Zhizn people*—members of the *Zhizn* (Life) Social-Democratic group. p. 125

[146] *Rabochaya Mysl* (Worker's Thought) No. 16, November-December 1902, carried a "Protest of the Workers' Organisation Committee" against the St. Petersburg Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. which had acknowledged *Iskra* and *Zarya* as the Party's leading organs. The same issue had a letter from the Workers' Organisation Committee to the *Svoboda* (Freedom) group and the editorial board of the magazine *Otkliki* (Comment), expressing gratitude for their sympathy and offering support. The pro-*Iskra* St. Petersburg Committee issued, in place of *Rabochaya Mysl*, its *Listok Rabochei Mysli* (*Rabochaya Mysl* Leaflet) in December 1902 and January 1903. *Listok* No. 1 was destroyed by a committee decision in view of its poor wording. p. 127

[147] The first Russian newspaper, *Vedomosti o voyennykh i inykh delakh, dostoinykh znaniya i pamyati, sluchivshikhsya v Moskovskom gosudarstve i vo inykh okrestnykh stranakh* (Recorder of Military and Other Affairs in the Moscow State and Neighbouring Countries Worthy of Knowledge and Memory), was published on January 2, 1703. To mark its bicentenary, the St. Petersburg Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. issued a leaflet, "Two Centuries of a Press in Bondage", on January 3, 1903, branding Russia's disgraceful censorship, and describing the struggle for freedom of the press (from Radishchev to Herzen). It also noted the wide spread of illegal revolutionary publications in late 19th and early 20th centuries, and called for a struggle against the tsarist government. p. 127

[148] A reference to the meeting of all six members of the former *Iskra* Editorial Board and F. V. Lengnik, a member of the Central Committee, on the question of agreement. Lenin and Plekhanov tried to co-opt Y. O. Martov to the editorial board and get other former Menshevik editors and contributors to *Iskra* to work on it, but they failed because the Mensheviks demanded the co-optation of all four former editors. Lenin saw the "absurdity" of the demand

and abandoned the idea of negotiations. However, on October 4, 1903, Plekhanov made another effort to co-opt two editors but this was also rejected. For details on the October 4 meeting and the subsequent correspondence, see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 349-57. p. 128

[149] A reference to the "personal conflict" between Lenin and Martov at the League's Second Congress, which amounted to the following: Martov accused Lenin that in his report at the Congress he had portrayed Martov as a liar and intriguer in presenting the question of organising the C.O. Editorial Board at the Party's Second Congress. Accordingly, he challenged Lenin to appear before a court of arbitration. Lenin protested against such tactics, took up Martov's challenge and, in his turn, challenged him to appear before a court of arbitration on the issue. The conflict was ironed out through the mediation of G. M. Krzhizhanovsky during his stay abroad in the latter half of November 1903, by means of an exchange of notes between Lenin and Martov. The Editorial Board failed to meet Lenin's wish that the two notes should be published in an annex to the minutes of the League's Congress (see Letter to F. I. Dan of December 2, 1903). The fact that the "personal conflict had been ironed out" was certified only in an editorial footnote to the relevant section of the minutes. It said: "The question of a court of arbitration has been eliminated through an exchange of explanations between Comrades Lenin and Martov which took place after the League Congress (*Minutes of the Second Congress of the League of Russian Revolutionary Social-Democracy Abroad*, p. 66). The notes were later published in the *Commentary to the Minutes of the Second Congress of the League of Russian Revolutionary Social-Democracy Abroad*, Geneva, 1904. p. 130

[150] *Iskra* No. 62 of March 15 carried a report on the Nikolayev arrests in the "Chronicle of the Revolutionary Struggle" section: "In the early hours of March 9, the printing press was confiscated and the four men there arrested. In addition, the police arrested ... many others." Lenin set forth the essence of the conflict in the Nikolayev Committee during the discussion of the question at the Party Council's meeting on June 18, 1904 (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 440-41).

The names of the persons indicated in Lenin's letter by their initials, or the group of agitators, mentioned at the end of the letter, have not been identified. p. 131

[151] During the stay of Lenin and N. K. Krupskaya in the mountains in July and August 1904 and the trip of V. A. Noskov (a member of the Central Committee's Section Abroad) to Russia, the section was in the charge of V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich, M. N. Lyadov and P. N. Lepeshinsky, the Central Committee's agents abroad. Bonch-Bruyevich was in charge of the C.C.'s forwarding office; Lyadov was the treasurer, and Lepeshinsky, the deputy C.C.

representative abroad on connections with *Iskra*'s Editorial Board. The agents consulted Lenin on all important questions and transmitted to him all the correspondence coming from Russia. p. 133

[152] A reference to the official written authorisation that was to have been issued by the C.C. representatives abroad (Lenin and V. A. Noskov) to the collegium of C.C. agents abroad in Geneva, to conduct the business of the C.C.'s Section Abroad in the absence of the C.C. members. V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich informed Lenin of a fresh conflict with *Iskra*'s Editorial Board, who had refused to deal with the C.C.'s agents abroad without such an official document. p. 133

[153] A Party library in Geneva was organised by the C.C.'s Section Abroad and was run on members' payments from special collections. The 300 francs mentioned by Lenin had been borrowed by the library from the Party treasury and soon repaid. p. 133

[154] A reference to the open letter of 37 Bolsheviks (the Geneva group) to Plekhanov on his reply to the open letter of M. N. Lyadov, which the latter addressed to Plekhanov on June 1, 1904 in *Iskra* No. 67, concerning his article in *Iskra* No. 66 (May 15, 1904), "Silence Is No Longer Possible!".

Plekhanov sharply criticised the activity of the C.C.'s representatives abroad and invited C.C. members to repudiate Lenin and his pamphlet *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*. Lyadov demanded that Plekhanov make public facts and documents confirming his assessment of this activity, and also state the real grounds for his demand that C.C. members repudiate Lenin. Plekhanov replied to Lyadov in the same issue of *Iskra* in a rude manner, but said nothing on the substance of Lyadov's charges. This prompted the group of Bolsheviks abroad to issue their open letter, which stated that Plekhanov had declined to provide factual confirmation of his charges against the C.C. and its representatives abroad, and censured him for his behaviour in this case and towards the majority of the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. in general. p. 134

[155] V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich sold for cash 30 copies of *Zarya* from the C.C. forwarding office to *Iskra*'s Editorial Board and M. N. Lyadov protested against this. p. 135

[156] The meaning of the words is not quite clear, but judging by the context, they apparently refer to M. N. Lyadov. p. 135

[157] The Bolshevik literature and documents mentioned here include: 1) a pamphlet by Galyorka (M. S. Olminsky) and Ryadovoi (A. Bogdanov), *Our Misunderstandings*; 2) a statement by V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich concerning the start of publication of Bolshevik Social-Democratic literature with a letter from Glebov (V. A. Noskov) refusing to print this statement in the Party printing shop; and

3) a pamphlet by Galyorka, *Down with Bonapartism!* (Bonch-Bruyevich's statement was printed on the last sheet of the pamphlet, *Our Misunderstandings*, of the Geneva edition of 1904). p. 135

[158] Lenin and "Ilya" (I. S. Vilensky) who was in charge of the Party's printing shop discussed the conflict between Lenin and the conciliatory majority of the Central Committee on who was to run the Party's printing shop at Geneva. p. 135

[159] The "agreement" on a joint solidarity statement abroad on behalf of the Central Committee was concluded between Lenin and V. A. Noskov, who came abroad as the C.C. representative abroad and a second member of the Party Council. (He replaced F. V. Lengnik, who returned to Russia.) The "agreement" was signed on May 26 with the participation of M. M. Essen, a third member of the C.C., who was abroad at the time (see present edition Vol. 7, pp. 430-31 and 426-29). p. 135

[160] A reference to Lenin's letter to five members of the Central Committee in Russia with his motivated protest against the C.C.'s "July Declaration" (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 462-63).

July Declaration of the Central Committee—a resolution adopted by the conciliatory members of the C.C., L. B. Krasin, V. A. Noskov and L. Y. Galperin, in July 1904. It consisted of 26 points, nine of which were published in *Iskra* No. 72 of August 25, 1904, under the title "Declaration of the Central Committee". It was adopted without the knowledge of two C.C. members, Lenin, who was in Switzerland, and Rozalia Zemlyachka, which deprived them of the opportunity of standing up for the views of the Party's majority in the C.C. The declaration recognised the Menshevik Editorial Board of *Iskra*, co-opted by Plekhanov, and co-opted another three conciliatory members of the C.C., namely, A. I. Lyubimov, L. Y. Karpov and I. F. Dubrovinsky. The conciliators came out against the convocation of the Party's Third Congress and dissolved the C.C. Southern Bureau, which had been campaigning for the Congress. They revoked Lenin's powers as C.C. representative abroad and prohibited the publication of his works without the permission of the C.C. collegium.

The adoption of the July Declaration signified a total betrayal of the decisions of the Party's Second Congress by the conciliatory members of the C.C. and their open backing of the Mensheviks.

Lenin was supported by the Party's local committees—St. Petersburg, Moscow, Riga, Baku, Tiflis, Imeretian-Mingrelian, Nikolayev, Odessa and Yekaterinoslav—which resolutely condemned the July Declaration. p. 135

[161] A reference to the "Letter to Central Committee Agents and Committee Members of the R.S.D.L.P. Siding with the Second Party Congress Majority" (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 464-65). p. 135

[162] V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich managed to sign a contract with a Russian co-operative printing shop in Geneva for publishing Bolshe-

vik literature following the virtual split between Lenin and the literary group abroad, and the conciliatory Central Committee. p. 136

[163] A reference to the coup d'état in the Central Committee by its three conciliatory members (V. A. Noskov, L. B. Krasin and L. Y. Galperin) at the "July" sitting (see Note 160). p. 136

[164] At V. A. Noskov's suggestion, V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich intended to apply to the Central Committee for the permission to organise a "V. Bonch-Bruyevich and N. Lenin Publishers of Social-Democratic Literature". p. 137

[165] The pamphlet *Our Misunderstandings* by Galyorka and Ryadovoi. p. 137

[166] Lenin wrote his letter to V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich on the free space of V. A. Noskov's letter of September 12, 1904, which he had received through Bonch-Bruyevich (see *Lenin Miscellany XV*, pp. 167-68). p. 137

[167] The addressee has not been ascertained. p. 142

[168] The notification issued by the Bureau of Majority Committees on the convocation of the Party's Third Congress contained a clause, in the section dealing with organisational questions for decision at the Congress, on re-organising the centres. It said: "There is to be only *one* centre, and that in *Russia*" (see *KPSS v resolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh syezdov, konferentsy i plenumov TsK* [The C.P.S.U. in the Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and C.C. Plenary Meetings], Part One, 1954, p. 72). Lenin expressed his attitude to this clause in the document "Modification of the Clause in the Rules Concerning the Centres" (see present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 197-99), proposing the retention of two centres, one abroad, the C.O. Editorial Board, and one in Russia, the Central Committee, whose periodical meetings "*actually* will *always* play the role of supreme or highest 'Council' of the Party" (ibid., p. 199). p. 142

[169] "*From the Editors*" was written by Lenin and published in *Vperyod* (Forward) No. 8 on February 28 (15), 1905. In the present edition, it is entitled "The Convening of the Third Party Congress" (see Vol. 8, pp. 177-80). p. 142

[170] *Vperyod* No. 8, of February 28 (15), 1905, carried the following statement in the "From the Party" section, drawn up by M. S. Olminsky: *From the Editors*: We have just received information that can be interpreted as the C.C.'s consent to a congress right away. Without in any way vouching for its authenticity for the time being, we do consider it plausible. The C.C. has been opposing a congress for many months, dissolving organisations and boycotting and disorganising committees favouring a congress.

These tactics have failed. Now, being guided by its rule of 'expediency is all, formality, nothing', the C.C. is prepared, for the sake of 'expediency' (*that is*, *prevention of a congress*), to declare formally a hundred times, if need be, that it wants a congress convened at once."

Lenin added the following: "We hope that neither the Bureau nor the local committees will let themselves be duped by the trickery of the Party 'Shidlovsky Commission'. The same attitude to the C.C.'s consent was expressed by Lenin in his letter to S. I. Gusev on February 25, 1905 (see present edition, Vol. 34, p. 298). p. 142

[171] A reference to the arrest of C.C. members in the home of the writer Leonid Andreyev in Moscow on February 9 (22), 1905. p. 143

[172] Lenin's letter to the secretary of the Labour Representation Committee in Britain was written in the following circumstances. In 1904, in connection with the strikes in Russia, Russian Social-Democratic organisations in London set up a committee in aid of the Russian strikers, which sent out an appeal for aid to British trade unions. It was also decided to appeal to the Labour Representation Committee, of which James Ramsay MacDonald was secretary. The negotiations with the Committee were assigned to K. M. Takhtarev and N. A. Alexeyev (who were members of the Russian Social-Democratic organisation in London before its split). The Labour Representation Committee responded to the appeal, stipulating that a part of the money should go in aid of the widows and orphans of the numerous victims of the fusillade of January 9 (22), 1905. p. 144

[173] A reference to the opening of the Third Party Congress. Lenin wrote to P. A. Krasikov on Wednesday, April 5, expecting it to open not earlier than Monday (April 10). However, the Congress opened only on April 25. C.C. members who were on the Organising Committee for the convocation of the Congress made a final effort to reach agreement with the Party Council (Plekhanov, Axelrod and Martov), to have them recognise the C.C. decision on the convocation of the Congress and approve the work done by the O.C. The talks dragged out until the arrival of the delegates from Russia in Geneva and the departure of the Bolsheviks for London. p. 145

[174] *Dnevnik Sotsial-Demokrata* (Diary of a Social-Democrat)—a non-periodical published at long intervals by G. V. Plekhanov in Geneva from March 1905 to April 1912. There were 16 issues in all. Its publication was resumed in Petrograd in 1916, but only one issue appeared. p. 145

[175] A reference to the joint appeal to the Party on behalf of the C.C. and the Bureau of Majority Committees (B.M.C.) of March 12, 1905, setting the task of the Congress: to work out general Party tactics and establish organisational unity. The appeal listed the

authorised committees and said that the C.C. and the B.M.C. were setting up an Organising Committee for the convocation of the Congress. The appeal appeared in *Vperyod* No. 13, on April 5 (March 23), 1905. p. 145

[176] The newspaper *Vperyod* No. 13 carried a draft report of the Bureau of Majority Committees to the Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. under the title "Question of Organisation" containing draft changes in the Party's Rules (prepared by "Ivanov"—A. A. Bogdanov). p. 145

[177] A reference to a report prepared by P. A. Krasikov, who was nominated a delegate to the Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. from the Committee of the Organisation Abroad. The Committee headed Bolshevik groups abroad which had broken with the League Abroad, when it fell under Menshevik control after its Second Congress. p. 145

[178] The addressee has not been ascertained. p. 146

[179] Lenin examines in detail Engels's *Die deutsche Reichsverfassungskampagne* (The German Campaign for an Imperial Constitution) in his report at the Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. on May 1, 1905, dealing with the participation of Social-Democrats in the provisional revolutionary government (see present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 393-95). This work of Engels is an essay on the history of the Baden-Pfalz uprising of 1849, in which he personally took part as an A.D.C. of Willich.

In the spring and summer of 1905, some legal publishing houses set up in Russia undertook the publication of the works of Marx and Engels in Russian translations. Lenin edited Marx's *The Civil War in France* and other works for Burevestnik Publishers in Odessa. Engels's pamphlet was not published in Russian before the October Revolution. p. 146

[180] Lenin went to Paris where, on May 24 (June 6), 1905, he gave a lecture on the Party's Third Congress and its decisions. p. 148

[181] The Central Committee's letter of August 24 (September 6), 1905, was signed by three members of the C.C. (A. A. Bogdanov, D. S. Postolovsky and L. B. Krasin). It was in reply to Lenin's letter of August 1 (14), 1905 (see present edition, Vol. 34, pp. 326-27). p. 149

[182] The Central Committee resolution, entitled "The Central Committee on the Duma", was published in *Proletary* (The Proletarian) No. 19, October 3 (September 20), 1905. p. 149

[183] *Letuchy Listok TsK RSDRP* (Leaflet of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.) was issued at various intervals and dealt with current tactical and organisational questions in the light of the decisions of the Party's Third Congress. There were four issues in all. p. 151

[184] A reference to the agreement between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks in Nikolayev on joint political action. Both committees appointed representatives to a commission, called "United Organisation of Social-Democrats of the Town of Nikolayev", with the task of working out a plan for joint action and agitation connected with it. To ensure the preparations for the action, the commission set up a technical group, a funds commission, and a combat group.

A report from Nikolayev on this agreement was published in the "From the Party" section of *Proletary* No. 9 of July 26 (13), 1905. p. 152

[185] *Cadets*—Constitutional-Democratic Party, the leading party of the liberal-monarchist bourgeoisie in Russia, which was founded in 1905. They advocated a constitutional monarchy. During the first Russian revolution of 1905-07, they styled themselves the party of "people's freedom", while actually betraying the people's interests and holding secret talks with the tsarist government on how to crush the revolution. As the Opposition Party in the Duma, they strove to share power with the tsarist government and supported it on all major issues of domestic and foreign policy.

During the First World War, Cadet leaders, among them Milyukov, were the chief proponents of the annexationist policy of Russian imperialism. After the February revolution of 1917, they entered the bourgeois Provisional Government and fought the revolutionary movement of workers and peasants; they stood up for the landed estates and wanted to force the people to continue the imperialist war. After the victory of the October Socialist Revolution, the Cadets took part in the counter-revolutionary armed struggle against Soviet Russia. p. 154

[186] The conference of Social-Democratic organisations in Russia to which Lenin refers was held in Riga on September 7-9 (20-22), 1905. It was called by the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. to work out the tactics in respect of the Duma. It was attended by representatives of the C.C., the O.C. of the Mensheviks, the Bund, the Lettish Social-Democrats, the Social-Democrats of Poland and Lithuania, and the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party. Over Menshevik protests, the conference passed a resolution on active boycott of the Bulygin Duma. The conference decisions were published in *Proletary* No. 22 on October 24 (11), 1905 (see *KPSS v resolyutsiyakh...*, Part One, 1954, pp. 91-94). They are assessed in Lenin's articles "The First Results of the Political Alignment" and "The Hysterics of the Defeated" (see present edition, Vol. 9, pp. 396-404 and 405-07). p. 154

[187] A reference to the meeting between M. A. Reisner and V. V. Vorovsky. p. 154

[188] *International Socialist Bureau*—the executive organ of the Second International, was established by decision of the Paris Congress

of 1900. Lenin was a member of the Bureau from 1905 to 1912 as a representative of the R.S.D.L.P. p. 155

[189] For reasons of secrecy Berlin was called Odessa, and Königsberg—Warsaw.

Further on, the reference is to the general meeting of C.C. and C.O. members with Lenin, which is also mentioned in his letter of October 5, 1905 (see present edition, Vol. 34, pp. 348-49). p. 155

[190] In 1907, M. S. Kedrov's Zerno Book Publishers in St. Petersburg started publication of a three-volume collection of Lenin's works under the title "Twelve Years". However, they managed to issue only the first volume and a part of the second, because of intensified harassment and strict censorship under Stolypin. p. 156

[191] After his return from the Party's London Congress, Lenin lived in Finland, near St. Petersburg. In view of the arrests that had started, the Bolshevik Centre decided to transfer the publication of *Proletary* from Finland to some foreign country. Accordingly, Lenin, together with A. A. Bogdanov and I. F. Dubrovinsky, was instructed to go to Switzerland. Lenin left Finland in December 1907, spent a few days in Stockholm waiting for N. K. Krupskaya, stayed three days in Berlin and arrived at Geneva on January 7, 1908. p. 157

[192] A reference to the *Proletary* printing shop and its forwarding section. p. 157

[193] The arrests in Berlin were connected with the changing of money expropriated in Tiflis on June 13, 1907. The organiser of the expropriation, Kamo (Ter-Petrosyan), and all its participants managed to escape. But the tsarist government informed the police abroad of the serial numbers of the 500-ruble banknotes seized in the expropriation; in December 1907, persons changing these banknotes were simultaneously arrested in Berlin, Munich, Paris, Copenhagen, Stockholm and Geneva. In November 1907, Kamo was betrayed by the provocateur Y. A. Zhitomirsky and arrested in Berlin. The Russian Government, having established Kamo's identity, secured his extradition as a criminal. During the search for the Tiflis expropriators, arrests were carried out in the Russian Social-Democratic colonies in Paris, Munich, Geneva and Stockholm. p. 157

[194] A reference to Lenin's *Agrarian Programme of Social-Democracy in the First Russian Revolution, 1905-1907* (see present edition, Vol. 13, pp. 217-431). p. 158

[195] *Trudoviks*—petty-bourgeois democrats in the Dumas, mainly peasants and intellectuals of the Narodnik stripe. Their group was organised in April 1906 by the peasant deputies of the First

Duma, who wavered between the Cadets and the Social-Democrats.
During the First World War most of the Trudoviks took a social-chauvinist stand. p. 158

[196] The Land Bill of 104 Duma deputies was motioned by I. N. Mushenko, a member of the Agrarian Commission of the Second Duma who was the official rapporteur of the Socialist-Revolutionary group. p. 158

[197] The Russian Proletarian Library, collected by the Social-Democrat G. A. Kuklin, who joined the Bolsheviks in 1905, and a book storehouse and a printing press were conveyed by him into the full possession of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. in July 1905, as he said in his "Statement" which appeared in *Proletary* No. 7 on July 10 (June 27), 1905.
In response to Lenin's request, Gorky sent a letter to the editors of Russian magazines and newspapers calling for collections of material on the history of the 1905-07 revolution, files of various local publications, in particular, dailies, etc. Gorky's letter was published in a number of magazines and newspapers in September 1908. p. 161

[198] During the Fifth (London) Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (April 30-May 19 [May 13-June 1], 1907), in view of the Party's financial difficulties, a loan was obtained, with Gorky's help, from an Englishman, with an obligation of repayment by January 1, 1908. It was repaid by the Bolshevik Party in 1922.
C.C. Meeting—a Plenary Meeting of the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. held in Geneva on August 11-13 (24-26), 1908. With regard to the London debt, the Plenary Meeting decided to form a commission, consisting of Bolsheviks, Mensheviks and Bundists, instructing it to write to the Englishman and tell him of the difficulties in repaying the debt (see *KPSS v resolyutsiyakh...*, Part One, 1954, p. 188). p. 162

[199] In October 1908, Y. M. Steklov asked Lenin to write an article "Chernyshevsky and the Peasant Question" for a collection on Chernyshevsky s life and work. He asked Lenin to inform Bogdanov of his letter. Lenin sent Bogdanov Steklov's letter with his own note.
The collection was not published. p. 164

[200] *Octobrists*—a counter-revolutionary party of big industrialists and landowners formed soon after the tsar's Manifesto of October 17, 1905 (whence their name). In it, the tsar, terrified by the revolution, promised "civil liberties" and a constitution. The Octobrists fully supported the government's domestic and foreign policies. p. 165

[201] On August 4, 1909, a general strike broke out in Sweden in response to the lockout of 83,000 workers in various industries

announced by the federation of industrialists on August 2. The strike lasted for more than a month. p. 166

[202] A reference to Lenin's article "The Faction of Supporters of Otzovism and God-Building" (see present edition, Vol. 16 pp. 29-61). p. 166

[203] A possible reference to Rosa Luxemburg's articles, "Ermattung oder Kampf?" (Exhaustion or Struggle?) and "Die Theorie und die Praxis" (Theory and Practice), published in *Die Neue Zeit* Nos. 35, 36, 43 and 44 in 1910. Lenin referred to them in "The Historical Meaning of the Inner-Party Struggle in Russia" (see present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 382-83). p. 167

[204] The Chief Executive of the Social-Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania intended to substitute V. L. Leder for A. Warski, its representative on the *Sotsial-Demokrat* editorial board. p. 167

[205] *Liquidationism*—an opportunist trend dominant among the Mensheviks after the defeat of the first Russian revolution (1905-07).

Its supporters demanded the liquidation of the proletariat's illegal revolutionary party and the establishment in its stead of an opportunist party engaged only in activity permitted by the tsarist government. Lenin and other Bolsheviks tirelessly exposed the liquidators, who had betrayed the cause of the revolution. The Prague Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. (January 1912) expelled the liquidators from the Party. p. 167

[206] Soon after the C.C. Plenum in January 1910, I. F. Dubrovinsky (Innokenty), V. P. Nogin (Makar) and I. P. Goldenberg (Meshkovsky) were arrested in Russia. p. 171

[207] A reference to the convocation of the Russian section (collegium) of the C.C. and co-optation of new members. The latter became necessary because of the arrest of a number of C.C. members elected at the London Congress in 1907. The liquidators, who took a negative attitude to the resumption of C.C. activity in Russia, strongly opposed the meeting of the remaining C.C. members and co-optation of new ones. Their formal refusal to take part in the effort to restore the C.C. served as the immediate cause for the cancellation of the agreement concluded at the C.C. Plenary Meeting in January 1910. As a result of Lenin's insistent demand J. J. Marchlewski went to Russia. p. 171

[208] A reference to Lenin's trip to Copenhagen for the Eighth International Socialist Congress of the Second International. p. 171

[209] On September 28, 1910, Lenin returned to Paris from Copenhagen where he had stayed after the Eighth International Socialist Congress of the Second International and from where he had gone

to Stockholm to visit his mother, M. A. Ulyanova, and his sister, M. I. Ulyanova. p. 172

[210] Karl Radek, in quoting the Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association, omitted the words of Marx to the effect that in the event of it being impossible to prevent the diplomatic activity of one's government, the working class must "combine in simultaneous denunciation, and indicate the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the rules paramount of the intercourse of nations" (see Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 385). p. 172

[211] A reference to J. Marchlewski's article against L. Martov, entitled "Ein Missverständnis" (A Misunderstanding), published in *Die Neue Zeit* No. 4, October 28, 1910, pp. 100-07. For details, see Lenin's letter to Marchlewski of October 7, 1910 (see present edition, Vol. 34, pp. 424-29). p. 174

[212] Lenin's article, "The Historical Meaning of the Inner-Party Struggle in Russia", was published only on April 29 (May 12), 1911, in *Diskussionny Listok* (The Discussion Bulletin), a supplement to *Sotsial-Demokrat*, the central organ of the R.S.D.L.P., No. 3 (see present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 374-92). p. 174

[213] Lenin's draft reply to Camille Huysmans's letter has not been found. p. 177

[214] *Mysl* (Thought)—a Bolshevik legal magazine, published in Moscow from December 1910 to April 1911; was closed down by the tsarist government. p. 178

[215] The first part of the Russian translation of K. Kautsky's pamphlet, *Taktische Strömungen in der deutschen Sozialdemokratie* (Tactical Trends among German Social-Democrats), Berlin, 1911, appeared in *Mysl* No. 5, April 1911, and this was the pretext for its closure. p. 178

[216] A reference to K. Kautsky's article, "Malthusianismus und Sozialismus"-(Malthusianism and Socialism), published in *Die Neue Zeit* Nos. 18, 19, 20, February 1911. p. 179

[217] Y. M. Steklov's book, *N. G. Chernyshevsky, His Life and Work (1828-1889)*, appeared in 1909. p. 179

[218] The Central Committee Bureau Abroad was set up by decision of a Plenary Meeting of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. in August 1908 as the general Party centre abroad, which was subordinate to the Russian Collegium of the Central Committee. Soon after the January Plenum of the C.C. in 1910, the liquidators obtained a majority in the Bureau, and it became the rallying point of anti-Party forces. The Bureau's liquidationist tactics forced the Bolsheviks to

recall their representative (Alexandrov—N. A. Semashko) in May 1911. Later the representatives of the Polish and Lettish Social-Democrats were also recalled.

The Bureau dissolved itself in January 1912. p. 180

[219] The *Organising Commission Abroad* and the *Technical Commission Abroad* were formed in June 1911 at a meeting of Central Committee members to prepare for the Prague Party conference.

The Bolsheviks withdrew from the commissions and disclaimed any responsibility for their activity, because most of their members (M. K. Vladimirov, V. L. Leder, A. I. Lyubimov and others) followed a conciliatory line and refused to abide by the decisions of the Russian Organising Commission. p. 180

[220] *Golosists*—Menshevik-liquidators (P. B. Axelrod, F. I. Dan, L. Martov, A. S. Martynov, A. N. Potresov and others) grouped round *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata* (Voice of the Social-Democrat) which was published first in Geneva, and later, from February 1908 to December 1911, in Paris. p. 180

[221] *Otzovism* (from *otzyvat*—recall)—an opportunist trend which emerged among the Bolsheviks in 1908. Behind the otzovists' revolutionary slogans was the demand for a recall of the Social-Democratic deputies from the Duma and an end to activity in legal organisations. They declared that in the conditions of reaction, the Party should conduct illegal activities only, and refused to take part in the Duma, trade unions, co-operatives and other legal and semi-legal mass organisations. For details on the otzovists, see Lenin's article "The Faction of Supporters of Otzovism and God-Building" (present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 29-61). p. 181

[222] *Vperyod* group—an anti-Party group consisting of otzovists, ultimatumists, god-builders and empirio-monists (proponents of the reactionary idealist philosophy of Mach and Avenarius); the group was organised in December 1909, on the initiative of A. Bogdanov and G. Alexinsky, and included A. V. Lunacharsky, M. N. Lyadov, M. N. Pokrovsky and A. V. Sokolov. They published the magazine *Vperyod* (Forward). In 1912, they united with the Menshevik-liquidators into an anti-Party bloc (August bloc), which was organised by Trotsky. The group failed to find support among the workers and broke up in 1913. It was finally disbanded after the February revolution in 1917. p. 181

[223] A reference to Lenin's "Notes of a Publicist", specifically the part where he analyses the stand of the "conciliators" adopted at the January 1910 Plenum of the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee (see present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 226-31). p. 183

[224] In the summer of 1911, the Bolshevik centre set up a Party school in Longjumeau near Paris for Party workers coming from Russia. Among the lecturers were Lenin, Inessa Armand and N. A. Se-

mashko. Among those who attended the lectures and seminars were G. K. Orjonikidze, Y. D. Zevin, I. I. Schvarz, the workers I. S. Belostotsky, A. I. Dogadov, and I. V. Prisyagin. Graduates carried out important Party work in Russia.

For details of the letter mentioned by Lenin, see present edition, Vol. 34, pp. 446-47. p. 185

[225] The "fair" was apparently a code name for the meeting of C.C. members in Paris on May 28-June 4 (June 10-17), 1911. p. 185

[226] Lenin read his lecture "Stolypin and the Revolution", in Berne on September 28, 1911 and in Geneva on October 3, 1911. p. 188

[227] A reference to the newspaper *Sotsial-Demokrat*; L. B. Kamenev's pamphlet *Two Parties*, with Lenin's preface (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 225-28); G. V. Plekhanov's *Dnevnik Sotsial-Demokrata*; and S. T. Arkomed's book *The Labour Movement and Social-Democracy in the Caucasus*, Part One, with G. V. Plekhanov's preface, Geneva, 1910. p. 188

[228] *Council of State*—an advisory body in tsarist Russia, consisting mainly of big landowners and senior officials appointed by the tsar. p. 189

[229] *Curias*—in Russia, divisions of voters classified by estate and property qualifications for elections to the Duma, which were designed to pack the Duma with members of the ruling classes.

There were four curias in the elections to the First and Second Dumas: worker, urban, landowner and peasant. p. 191

[230] Elections to the Duma were held in several stages: workers, peasant delegates, landowners and the urban bourgeoisie, at their congresses, elected representatives who, at their uyezd meetings, chose electors to the gubernia meetings where the deputies were finally elected. p. 191

[231] A reference to the 19th International Peace Congress held in Geneva from September 22 to 28, 1912. p. 193

[232] *Metallist*—one of the names of the magazine *Rabochy po metallu* (Metalworker), organ of the metalworkers' trade union; published in St. Petersburg from August 30 (September 12), 1906 to June 12 (25), 1914. Initially, the editorial board, like the executive of the trade union, was in the hands of liquidators. After an election in 1913, the executive and the editorial board passed into the hands of the Bolsheviks. p. 194

[233] *Sovremenny Mir* (Contemporary World)—a monthly literary, scientific and political magazine, published in St. Petersburg from 1906 to 1918. The Mensheviks were closely connected with the magazine. The Bolsheviks contributed to it during the bloc

with Plekhanov's pro-Party Menshevik group and in early 1914. During the First World War, the magazine became an organ of the social-chauvinists. p. 200

[234] A reference to the commission of the Basle (Extraordinary) Congress of the Second International for working out a manifesto against the war danger. The Congress, called in connection with the Balkan war and the mounting threat of a world-wide imperialist war, was held on November 24 and 25, 1912. The commission consisted of one delegate each from France, Germany, Britain and Russia. By agreement between representatives of the R.S.D.L.P. and the International Socialist Bureau, the Russian member was I. Rubanovich, a Socialist-Revolutionary. On November 25, the Congress unanimously adopted a manifesto calling on the workers to make use of the proletariat's organisation and strength for waging a revolutionary struggle against the threat of war. p. 202

[235] The I.S.B. meeting, held in Brussels on October 28 and 29, 1912, decided to call an extraordinary socialist congress. Russia was represented by Plekhanov and Rubanovich. The I.S.B. held a special closed sitting to discuss Russian affairs. p. 202

[236] Kautsky's article, "Der Krieg und die Internationale" (War and the International) published in No. 6 of *Die Neue Zeit* on November 8, 1912, pp. 191-92. p. 202

[237] Lenin's article "The Results and Significance of the U.S. Presidential Elections" (see present edition, Vol. 18, pp. 402-04). p. 204

[238] *Theodore Roosevelt*—U.S. President from 1901 to 1909. p. 204

[239] *Appeal to Reason*—a newspaper of the American Socialists founded in 1895. p. 205

[240] The article did not appear in *Pravda*. p. 209

[241] *Zaprosy Zhizni* (Demands of Life)—a weekly, published in St. Petersburg from 1909 to 1912. Cadets, Popular Socialists and Menshevik-liquidators contributed to the magazine. The article by student M., "Student Moods", appeared in No. 47 on November 23, 1912. p. 209

[242] The report of the R.S.D.L.P. C.C. delegation on the Basle Congress of the Second International. The report appeared in No. 30 of the newspaper *Sotsial-Demokrat* on January 12 (25), 1913. p. 211

[243] The withdrawal of six representatives of the C.C. from the R.S.D.L.P. subsection at the Basle Congress in protest against the endorsement of the credentials of the representative of the St. Petersburg Initiating Group, an organisation which was hostile to the Party and fought it. p. 211

[244] *Prosveshcheniye* (Enlightenment)—a legal theoretical monthly of the Bolsheviks, published in St. Petersburg from December 1911 to lune 1914. The magazine was organised on Lenin's initiative in place of *Mysl* (Thought), a Bolshevik journal closed down by the tsarist government. It had a circulation of up to 5,000. Lenin directed *Prosveshcheniye* first from Cracow and then from Poronin.

On the eve of the First World War, the magazine was closed down by the tsarist government. In the autumn of 1917, its publication was resumed, but only one (double) issue appeared. p. 212

[245] The six Bolshevik deputies in the Social-Democratic group in the Fourth Duma. p. 212

[246] See *Pyaty* (*Londonsky*) *syezd RSDRP* (Fifth [London] Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.). Minutes, Moscow, 1963, p. 660. p. 212

[247] Martov's article "The International Bureau on Social-Democratic Unity" quoted Plekhanov as saying at an I.S.B. meeting in Brussels (October 28 and 29, 1912) that "the time is not far off when the Russian Social-Democrats will unite *not only among themselves but also with the S.R.s*". p. 213

[248] The first article was published (under a similar title) in *Pravda* No. 191 on December 12, 1912 (see present edition, Vol. 18, pp. 437-38). In 1954, the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party handed the C.P.S.U. Central Committee material of Lenin's Cracow-Poronin archives, discovered in Cracow, among which were the manuscripts of the third and fifth articles, "The Working Class and Its 'Parliamentary' Representatives". They were first published in April 1954 in the journal *Kommunist*. The second and fourth articles have not been found. p. 216

[249] The resolution of the Fourth Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. (the Third All-Russia Conference), held at Helsingfors from November 5 to 12 (18 to 25), 1907, "On the Tactics of the Social-Democratic Group in the Duma" (see *KPSS v resolyutsiyakh...*, Part One, 1954, pp. 182-84). p. 216

[250] The resolution of the Fifth Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. held in Paris from Decemher 21 to 27, 1908 (January 3 to 9, 1909), "On the Duma Social-Democratic Group" (see *KPSS v resolyutsiyakh...*, Part One, 1954, pp. 198-201). p. 217

[251] The pro-Party Mensheviks—a small group of Mensheviks led by Plekhanov, who separated from the Menshevik-liquidators and opposed the trend from 1908 to 1912. p. 217

[252] *Nasha Zarya* (Our Dawn)—a legal Menshevik-liquidator monthly, published in St. Petersburg from 1910 to 1914. It was the liquidators' centre in Russia. p. 217

[253] *Jagiello, Y. I.*—a member of the Polish Socialist Party (P.S.P.), elected deputy to the Fourth Duma from the city of Warsaw. The Bolsheviks strongly objected to his admission to the Social-Democratic group because he had got through with the support of the bourgeoisie and the P.S.P. bloc with the Bund. Under the pressure of Bolshevik deputies his rights in the group were restricted: on all internal Party matters he had voice but no vote. p. 219

[254] *Polish Socialist Party—P.S.P.*—a petty-bourgeois nationalist party set up in 1892. p. 219

[255] Stalin's article "Jagiello As Not a Full Member of the Social-Democratic Group", published in *Pravda* No. 182, December 1, 1912. p. 222

[256] *General Association of German Workers*—a political organisation of the German workers set up at a congress of workers societies in Leipzig in 1863, with the active participation of Ferdinand Lassalle. The fact that it was set up was of positive significance for the working-class movement, but Lassalle, who was elected President, took it along an opportunist path. It confined its aims to working for a general franchise and non-violent parliamentary activity. Engels said that "'universal, equal and direct suffrage' was propounded by Lassalle as the only and infallible means of winning political power by the working class" (Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Band 16, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1962, S. 327). Its leadership demanded the establishment of workers' producer associations subsidised by the state which would allegedly transform the Prussian state into a "free state of the people"; they regarded the peasantry as a reactionary mass. The Lassalleans approved of the counter-revolutionary way of unifying Germany "from the top", through dynastic wars waged by Prussia. It broke up in 1875. p. 225

[257] *The Anti-Socialist Law* was introduced in Germany in 1878. It banned all organisations of the Social-Democratic Party and mass working-class organisations, closed down all working-class publications and prohibited all socialist writings. Social-Democrats were deported. The Law was revoked in 1890 under the pressure of the mass working-class movement. p. 225

[258] Lenin's book, *Twelve Years*: A Collection of Articles. Volume One. *Two Trends in Russian Marxism and Russian Social-Democracy*, was published in St. Petersburg in 1907 under the pen-name of Vl. Ilyin. It was confiscated by order of the tsarist government and was issued in a second edition in 1918. p. 227

[259] *Black Hundreds*—monarchist gangs set up by the tsarist police to fight the revolutionary-movement. They killed revolutionaries, attacked progressive intellectuals and staged anti-Jewish pogroms. p. 229

[260] *The Triple Alliance*—an imperialist bloc of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy, which took shape between 1879 and 1882.
The Triple Entente—an imperialist bloc of Britain, France and Russia, which was formalised in 1907 as a counter-weight to the Triple Alliance. p. 229

[261] *Yemelyan Pugachou*—the leader of the peasant war of 1773-75. p. 232

[262] *The Council of the United Nobility*—a counter-revolutionary landowners' organisation which had a great influence on the tsarist government's policy; formed in May 1906, under the chairmanship of the big landowner, Count A. A. Bobrinsky. During the Third Duma period, a considerable number of its members were on the Council of State and within the leadership of reactionary organisations. p. 233

[263] The general strike took place in Belgium from April 14 to April 24, 1913. The Belgian workers demanded a change in the Constitution: universal and equal suffrage. The strike was on a massive scale: of the total of more than one million, between 400,000 and 500,000 took part. *Pravda* gave wide coverage to the strike and reported on donations by Russian workers to the strike fund. p. 234

[264] *Vestnik Finansov, Promyshlennosti i Torgovli* (Finance, Industry and Trade Messenger)—a weekly of the Ministry of Finance; published in St. Petersburg from 1885 to 1917. p. 236

[265] *Promyshlennost i Torgovlya* (Industry and Commerce)—an organ of the council of congresses of industrial and commercial representatives. It was a mouthpiece of Big Business and Big Industry and was published in St. Petersburg from January 1908 to December 1917. p. 240

[266] *Progressists* (Progressist Party)—a party of the counter-revolutionary liberal-monarchist bourgeoisie and landowners in Russia. At first, it was a group in the Third Duma consisting of deputies from the bourgeois and landowner parties of Peaceful Renovation and Democratic Reform. It became a party in November 1912. p. 249

[267] An exclamation of V. Kokovtsev, then Minister of Finance (later, Prime Minister), in the Duma on April 24, 1908. p. 251

[268] On June 3 (16), 1907, the tsarist government arbitrarily dissolved the Second Duma and issued a new electoral law which greatly increased the representation of the landownes and the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie and sharply reduced the number of peasants', workes' and non-Russian deputies. It assured the

reactionary bloc of landowners and big capitalists of complete domination of the Third and Fourth Dumas. The June 3 coup ushered in the period of Stolypin reaction known as the June Third regime. p. 252

[269] The Zemstvos were local self-government bodies dominated by landed nobility in the central gubernias of tsarist Russia, first set up in 1864. They had jurisdiction only of local economic matters (hospitals, roads, statistics, insurance, etc.) and were under the Governor and the Ministry of the Interior, which could invoke any undesirable decisions. p. 258

[270] S. T. Arkomed's book *The Labour Movement and Social-Democracy in the Caucasus* with a preface by G. V. Plekhanov, Geneva, 1910. N. Jordania (Kostrov) contributed his articles to the Georgian magazine *Tskaro* (Source) published in Baku and to the newspaper *Chveni Tskhovreba* (Our Life). p. 260

[271] *Pravda* No. 119, May 25, 1913, with the article *Doubtful Lapse* by V. (M. S. Olminsky). p. 260

[272] The Second, Berne, Conference of R.S.D.L.P. Organisations Abroad at which Lenin gave his report, "The State of Affairs in the Party", on August 3, 1913. p. 261

[273] An apparent reference to the article "From the History of Ukrainian Marxism" by O. N. Lola (V. Stepanyuk), published in *Prosveshcheniye* (Enlightenment) No. 6, June 1914. p. 261

[274] *Yuri*—apparently, A. Bekzadian, a Social-Democrat (Bolshevik) who carried on active underground work in Baku in 1904-06. During the years of reaction he lived abroad. p. 261

[275] *Basok-Melenevsky* (*M. M.*)—a member of the Ukrainian Social-Democratic organisation, Spilka (Union). His nationalism was fully revealed during the war. The article by Basok referred to has not been identified. p. 262

[276] *Spilka*—the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Union, an organisation close to the Mensheviks. It was formed in late 1904 after its breakaway from the petty-bourgeois, nationalist Revolutionary Ukrainian Party, and dissolved during the period of reaction. For a number of years only small Spilka groups continued to exist. p. 262

[277] The Second All-Ukraine Student Congress, held in Lvov on June 19-22 (July 2-5), 1913, was timed for the celebration of an anniversary of Ivan Franko, the great Ukrainian revolutionary democrat, writer, scholar and public figure. Representatives of Ukrainian students from Russia also attended. The Congress heard a report, "Ukrainian Youth and the Present Condition of the Nation", by the Ukrainian Social-Democrat Dontsov, who pro-

pounded the "independence" of the Ukraine, a slogan backed by the National Democrats but opposed by a group of Ukrainian Social-Democrats who had emigrated from Russia. However, the protest was not supported by the Congress and following the debate it adopted Dontsov's resolution setting forth the programme of the Ukrainian separatists. p. 262

[278] *A. Bekzadian* was the R.S.D.L.P. representative at the German Social-Democratic Party Congress held in Jena from September 14 to 20, 1913. p. 263

[279] The Bolsheviks wanted to take the opportunity of the German Social-Democratic Party Congress in Jena so as to settle the affair of the trustees' money. The affair dragged on, because L. Tyszka and Rosa Luxemburg, who sympathised with the conciliators, used their influence with the trustees—Clara Zetkin, K. Kautsky and F. Mehring—to prevent the return of the money to the Bolsheviks. p. 263

[280] *V. L. Leder*—a Polish Social-Democrat (a "Rozlamist") who supported the Left wing of the Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania. p. 264

[281] The Commission to review the decision of the trial of Karl Radek on charges of unethical behaviour was set up by the Chief Executive of the Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania under a decision of the court, Radek was expelled from the party and from the German Social-Democratic Party.

The Commission was set up in Paris in early September 1913 on the initiative of the bureau of the sections abroad of the Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania (Rozlamists).

The Commission worked for five months and arrived at the conclusion that there was no ground for the party trial of Radek and his dismissal from the party.

Lenin sided with the opposition (Rozlamists) and believed that the charges sprang from the acute struggle which the Chief Executive waged against the opposition, and were motivated by factional considerations. He supported the review of the Radek case.

For details on the differences between the Chief Executive and the opposition, see present edition, Vol. 19, Note 135. p. 264

[282] An extract from V. Voitinsky's novel *The Waves*, entitled "A Ray of Light in the Night", was published in *Prosveshcheniye* No. 4, 1914. But Lenin's letter of mid-November 1913 to A. M. Gorky (see p. 266 of this volume) shows that Gorky was *against* the publication of Voitinsky's novel in *Prosveshcheniye*. That is why it is not quite clear whether the reference is to *The Waves* or to another of Voitinsky's manuscripts. p. 265

[283] Voitinsky's manuscript (see p. 265 of this volume). p. 266

[284] See present edition, Vol. 35, pp. 121-24. p. 266

[285] N. I. Bukharin's article "Mr. Struve's Hocus-Pocuses" appeared in *Prosveshcheniye* No. 12, 1913, as a review of P. B. Struve's book, *The Economy and Price*. Part One. *The Economy and Society.—Price-Value*. St. Petersburg-Moscow. Ryabushinsky Publishers, 1913. On Lenin's advice, the section on the serf economy was deleted. p. 267

[286] The secretary of the *Pravda* editorial board, K. N. Samoilova, informed the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. in her letter of January 25 (February 7), 1914, of the closure of the newspaper *Proletarskaya Pravda* (Proletarian Truth), and the possible closure of *Put Pravdy* (Path of Truth). Her fear arose from the fact that as a result of the publication, in *Put Pravdy* of January 23, 1914, of the article "That is Why It Exists..." under the signature of "M. F." (M. Firin, subsequently exposed as the provocateur M. Y. Chernomazov) which revealed the continuity between the various names of *Pravda* (Truth), *Rabochaya Pravda* (Workers' Truth), *Severnaya Pravda* (Northern Truth), *Pravda Truda* (Labour Truth), etc., Petrovsky was prosecuted. p. 268

[287] Lenin's trip to Paris, Brussels, Liège and Leipzig in January and early February 1914 in connection with the work of the Fourth Congress of the Social-Democratic Party of the Latvian Region, and his lectures on the national question. p. 268

[288] See present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 95-98. p. 268

[289] *Borba* (Struggle)—a journal published by Trotsky, seven issues of which appeared in St. Petersburg from February 22 (March 7) to July 1914. Trotskyites, liquidators and members of the *Vperyod* group contributed to the magazine, which under the cover of Trotsky's "non-factionalism" fought Lenin and the Bolshevik Party. p. 268

[290] The Bolshevik *Pravda* was issued under the name of *Proletarskaya Pravda* (Proletarian Truth) from December 7 (20), 1913 to January 22 (February 4), 1914, and under the name of *Put Pravdy* (Path of Truth) from January 22 (February 4) to May 21 (June 3). p. 269

[291] *Mysl* (Thought)—a Bolshevik legal philosophical and socio-economic journal published in Moscow from December 1910 to April 1911. It was started by Lenin to offset and fight the liquidators' magazines. p. 269

[292] Trotsky's publication of his anti-Party, factional journal *Borba*. p. 270

[293] The anti-Party August bloc was set up by Trotsky in 1912 at a liquidators' conference in Vienna, which was attended by Bund-

ists, members of the Transcaucasian Regional Committee, the Social-Democratic Party of the Latvian Region and various groups of liquidators, Trotskyites, and otzovists abroad.

The bloc, made up of various anti-Party elements, soon fell apart under Bolshevik pressure for the illegal proletarian party. p. 270

[294] The question of the break between the Lettish Social-Democrats and the Menshevik Organising Committee was decided at the Fourth Congress of the Social-Democratic Party of the Latvian Region held from January 26 to February 8, 1914 (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 360-62). p. 270

[295] The statistical data on cash collections for *Pravda* and *Luch*, mentioned by Lenin, are given in his article "The Working Class and Its Press" (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 363-79). p. 270

[296] Workers' votes cast for both Social-Democratic groups in the Duma: the Bolshevik Six and the Menshevik Seven (see table in Lenin's article, "How the Workers Responded to the Formation of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Group in the Duma", present edition, Vol. 20, p. 538). p. 270

[297] The pamphlet, *From the History of the Workers' Press in Russia*, was issued as No. 1 of the newspaper *Rabochy* on April 22, 1914. The whole issue was devoted to the history of the working-class press in Russia. p. 270

[298] A review by V. Yan-sky (S. S. Danilov) of V. Levitsky's book *August Bebel. His Life and Work*, which said: "Levitsky tries to draw the reader's attention specifically to Bebel's attitude to 'compromises', and compacts with the liberals, in an effort to set Bebel up as a model for someone.... Levitsky's exposition is not free from factionalism, and presents the great German leader and his views in the wrong light." p. 270

[299] Isaac A. Hourwich, *Immigration and Labour. The Economic Aspects of European Immigration to the United States*, New York and London, 1912. p. 271

[300] See present edition, Vol. 19, pp. 454-57. p. 271

[301] *A. Cahan*—editor of the New York Jewish socialist newspaper *Vorwärts*, founded in 1897. The material referred to (Census Reports. Twelfth Census 1900. Vol. V. Agriculture. Washington, 1902. Thirteenth Census of the United States, taken in the year 1910. Vol. V. Agriculture. Washington, 1913) was received from America partially in May 1914 (see present edition, Vol. 35, p. 140) and the rest shortly before the outbreak of the First World War. Lenin used them as a basis for his work: *New Data on the Laws Governing the Development of Capitalism in Agriculture. Part*

One. Capitalism and Agriculture in the United States of America (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 13-102). p. 271

[302] A reference to Lenin's works: *The Development of Capitalism in Russia. The Process of the Formation of a Home Market for Large-Scale Industry* (see present edition, Vol. 3) and *The Agrarian Programme of Social-Democracy in the First Russian Revolution, 1905-07* (see present edition, Vol. 13, pp. 217-431). p. 272

[303] *Novy Mir* (New World)—a Menshevik newspaper published by a group of Russian émigrés in New York from 1911 to 1917. From 1912 to 1916 it was edited by John Ellert (N. N. Nakoryakov). p. 272

[304] The resolution of a group of workers in the Vyborg district, "On the Withdrawal of Comrade Buryanov from the Seven", and the "Open Letter to A. F. Buryanov", signed by the Zurich group for the promotion of the R.S.D.L.P.

In their resolution the Vyborg workers welcomed Buryanov's withdrawal from the Seven, as fresh evidence of its political bankruptcy, but censured his neutralist stand as being incorrect. The Zurich group, mostly Mensheviks, assessed this as a major step towards the unification of the two Social-Democratic groups in the Duma. The two documents appeared in *Put Pravdy* No 22, February 26, 1914. p. 273

[305] A congress of the Second International set for Vienna in 1914 and a congress of the R.S.D.L.P. then being prepared. Neither took place because of the outbreak of the war. p. 274

[306] Lenin's letter was in reply to one from V. B. Stankevich, a member of the editorial board of *Sovremennik* (Contemporary), March 9 (22), 1914, in which he stated that the magazine would "in principle be an inter-factional organ ... we shall maintain the need for the full organisational unity of all socialist trends" and asked Lenin for permission to include his name among the contributors. For Lenin's attitude to the *Sovremennik* group, see his article "Workers' Unity and Intellectualist 'Trends'" (present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 294-97). p. 276

[307] See present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 148-51 and 226-29. p. 277

[308] *Pro-Party Bolsheviks*—a small group of conciliators who inclined to liquidationism. p. 277

[309] *F. N. Samoilov*—a Bolshevik deputy of the Fourth Duma; in February 1914 went abroad on the advice of his doctors; in the spring and summer of 1914, received treatment in Switzerland. p. 279

[310] On May 12, 1914, A. A. Troyanovsky wrote Lenin a letter suggesting improvements in the work of the editorial board of the maga-

zine *Prosveshcheniye* and enclosing a draft "constitution" to organise the work.

Troyanovsky's article on the national question did not appear in *Prosveshcheniye*. p. 285

[311] *The Right of Nations to Self-Determination* appeared in the magazine *Prosveshcheniye* Nos. 4, 5 and 6, for April, May and June 1914, under the signature V. Ilyin (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 393-454). p. 285

[312] The work of L. Martov, F. Dan and G. Plekhanov in *Sovremennik*. p. 286

[313] V. Karpinsky was delegated to the Vienna International Congress of the Second International (which was not held). p. 286

[314] *J. Hanecki and A. Malecki*—delegates to the Brussels "Unity" Conference from the opposition of the Polish Social-Democratic Party (Rozlamists). One of the issues between the Chief Executive of the Polish Social-Democratic Party, of which Tyszka was a member, and the opposition was the attitude to the liquidators and the P.S.P. Lenin censured the policies of the Chief Executive and sympathised with the opposition. p. 287

[315] An international congress was to have been held in Vienna on August 23, 1914. In connection with the outbreak of war between Austria and Serbia, the International Socialist Bureau decided to convene the congress in Paris earlier, namely, on August 9. It was not held. p. 288

[316] The delegation to the Brussels "Unity" Conference included, from the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P., Inessa Armand (Petrova), M. Vladimirsky (Kamsky) and I. Popov. p. 288

[317] Lenin was apparently in need of a cabled reply to summon someone from Russia in the event F. Samoilov was unable to attend the Congress. p. 289

[318] An apparent reference to the trip to Brussels to attend a meeting of the International Socialist Bureau. p. 290

[319] The outbreak of the First World War found Lenin in the village of Poronin (Galicia). On July 25 (August 7), the Austrian authorities carried out a search of Lenin's quarters, and the gendarme sergeant-major confiscated the manuscript of Lenin's article on the agrarian question, taking the tables in it to be a code. Lenin was arrested the next day. After a fortnight's detention, he was released through the efforts of Russian and Polish Social-Democrats and with the help of Austrian socialists Viktor Adler and deputy of the Austrian Parliament Hermann Diamant. He was allowed to leave Austria for Switzerland. On August 23 (Septem-

ber 5), 1914, Lenin arrived in Berne together with N. K. Krupskaya and her mother. Y. V. Krupskaya. p. 291

[320] The collection of the latest books at the Society. p. 292

[321] Publication of a newspaper in Switzerland required the warranty of some influential Swiss figure. With that end in view, V. A. Karpinsky held talks with the Swiss socialist, deputy of the Federal Parliament, Jean Sigg, who agreed to help in the publication. p. 293

[322] The manifesto of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P., "The War and Russian Social-Democracy", was published in its Central Organ, *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 33, November 1, 1914 (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 25-34). p. 293

[323] An apparent reference to the resolution of a group of Social-Democrats ("Theses on War") adopted by a Bolshevik conference in Berne on September 6-8, 1914 (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 15-19). p. 293

[324] Plekhanov's lecture, "On the Attitude of the Socialists to the War", given in Lausanne on October 11, 1914, was organised by the local Menshevik group for the promotion of the R.S.D.L.P.

In the debate that followed, Lenin was the only speaker (no one else took the floor). Reports on Plekhanov's lecture, Lenin's speech and Plekhanov's summing-up speech appeared in the Paris Menshevik newspaper *Golos* (Voice) Nos. 31, 32 and 33 on October 18, 20 and 21, 1914, under the title of "Russian Social-Democratic Leaders on the War".

The speeches were taken down by a *Golos* correspondent (initials: I. K.). p. 294

[325] Italo-Swiss Socialist Conference, in whose preparation Lenin took part, was held at Lugano on September 27, 1914. Lenin's theses on the war were discussed at the conference and were partially included in the resolution. The conference was attended by R. Grimm, Paul Pflüger and others from Switzerland, and Serrati, Lazzari, Morgari, Turati, Modigliani and others from Italy. The resolution of the conference characterised the war as imperialist and called on the proletariat to wage an international struggle for peace. While the decisions of the conference were not consistently internationalist or thoroughly revolutionary, they were, nevertheless, a step forward in the preparation for restoring international proletarian ties. p. 294

[326] On August 4, 1914, the Social-Democratic Group in the Reichstag joined the bourgeois deputies in voting a 5,000 million war loan to the Kaiser Government, thereby endorsing Wilhelm II's imperialist policy. It later turned out that the Left-wing Social-Democrats opposed the granting of war credits during the discussion of the question before the Reichstag sitting, but

subsequently voted for them in conformity with a majority decision of the opportunist Social-Democrats. p. 294

[327] Karl Kautsky's article "Die Sozialdemokratie im Kriege" in *Die Neue Zeit* No. 1, October 2, 1914. p. 294

[328] The Serbian Social-Democrats, who were the first to have to take a stand on the war, did not waver in adopting an internationalist attitude: in parliament, their deputies voted against war credits. Their newspaper, *Rabochaya Gazeta* (Workers' Newspaper), published in Niš, also conducted a campaign against the chauvinists. p. 295

[329] Lenin's lecture on "The Proletariat and the War" was given in Lausanne on October 14, 1914, two days after Plekhanov's social-chauvinist lecture, and was carried in the Paris *Golos* Nos. 37 and 38 on October 25 and 27. The report of the lecture was filed by a *Golos* correspondent (initials: I. K.) who noted that "Lenin's lecture was held before a great concourse of people". p. 297

[330] See Engels, *Socialism in Germany*, Section One. p. 300

[331] On September 27, 1914, the central organ of the German Social-Democrats *Vorwärts*, carried an article, "Germany and Foreign Countries" which timidly suggested that the German and French proletariat were involved in the war against their will. On this pretext the paper was banned by the Commander of the Brandenburg district, General von Kessel. Haase and Fischer requested that the bail be lifted. Kessel agreed, provided *Vorwärts* refrained from dealing "with the subject of class hatred and the class struggle". The editors accepted the condition, and the paper reappeared on October 1, frontpaging General Kessel's order on the resumption of its publication. p. 300

[332] *Golos* (Voice)—a Menshevik-Trotskyist daily published in Paris from September 1914 to January 1915, advocating a Centrist stand.

Early in the First World War (1914-18), *Golos* carried Martov's articles against the social-chauvinists. That was when Lenin approved of the paper's activity. Following Martov's turn to the right, the paper began to defend the social-chauvinists, preferring "unity with the social-chauvinists to drawing closer to those who are irreconcilably hostile to social-chauvinism" (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 113).

From January 1915, *Golos* was replaced by *Nashe Slovo* (Our Word). p. 300

[333] The anti-war resolutions of the international socialist congresses of the Second International in Stuttgart (1901), Copenhagen (1910) and Basle (1912). p. 302

[334] Lenin made five amendments in the manifesto of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. which copy is now at the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.C., C.P.S.U. The manifesto was published under the title "The War and Russian Social-Democracy" in the Central Organ of the R.S.D.L.P., *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 33, November 1, 1914. p. 303

[335] The Bolsheviks' reply to E. Vandervelde's telegram urging the Duma Social-Democratic group to support the Russian Government in the war against Germany. The reply signed by the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. was published in *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 33, November 1, 1914. The Bolsheviks said they believed that in the interests of democracy and socialism it was an urgent task of the revolutionary proletarian party in the period of imperialist war to extend and strengthen the class organisations of the workers and to develop their class struggle against the imperialist bourgeoisie and their own governments. p. 303

[336] Lenin read his lecture on the war at Montreux (near Clarens) on Monday, October 26, and in Zurich, on Tuesday, October 27, 1914. p. 304

[337] The Congress of the Swedish Social-Democratic Party took place in Stockholm on November 23, 1914. On the opening day, A. Shlyapnikov, under the pseudonym of Belenin, made a declaration on behalf of the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. in accordance with the instructions given in the present letter (see also present edition, Vol. 21, p. 108). p. 307

[338] A. Pannekoek's article, "Der Zusammenbruch der Internationale" (The Collapse of the International), was published in the Swiss Left-wing Social-Democratic newspaper, *Berner Tagwacht* Nos. 245, 246 and 247 of October 20, 21 and 22, 1914. p. 307

[339] The formation within the German Social-Democratic Party of an internationalist Left-wing group headed by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, which formed the nucleus of the Spartacus League. p. 307

[340] An apparent reference to the article "The Opening of Parliament", published in the British bourgeois journal *The Economist* No. 3, 716, November 14, 1914.

Lenin's article "Bourgeois Philanthropists and Revolutionary Social-Democracy" (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 192-93) gives a review of *The Economist*'s stand on peace. p. 308

[341] The loan of 3,000 kronen was obtained by the R.S.D.L.P. from the Swedish Social-Democratic Party in 1907 during its Fifth Congress (London). p. 308

[342] The arrest of Bolsheviks attending a conference at Ozerki, near

Petrograd, among them members of the R.S.D.L. group in the Fourth Duma.

The conference was held from November 2 to 4 (15 to 17), 1914, and was attended by Bolsheviks from Petrograd, Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Kharkov and Riga.

On November 4 (17), when the conference had just ended, the police, on information of a provocateur, raided the premises. During the search, copies of Lenin's theses on the war and *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 33, which carried the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. manifesto, *The War and Russian Social-Democracy*, were confiscated from Duma Bolshevik deputies Petrovsky, Badayev and others. All the participants in the conference were arrested, except for the deputies, because of their parliamentary immunity. But they too were arrested two days later, put on trial and exiled for life to Eastern Siberia. Lenin analysed the results of the trial in his article "What Has Been Revealed by the Trial of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Duma Group", which was published in *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 40 on March 29, 1915 (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 171-77). p. 310

[343] The reply of the Petrograd liquidators (P. P. Maslov, A. N. Potresov, N. Cherevanin [F. A. Lipkin] and others) to E. Vandervelde's telegram urging the Russian Social-Democrats not to campaign against the war. The liquidators justified the Belgian, French and British socialists who had entered their bourgeois governments, and supported the social-chauvinists, and declared that they, for their part, did not oppose the war. Their reply was published in *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 34, with a note from the Editorial Board. p. 310

[344] A reference to the appeal to women which Alexandra Kollontai wrote and sent to Lenin in her letter of November 28, 1914, for publication in *Sotsial-Demokrat*. It was not published. p. 311

[345] A reference to Kautsky's articles: 1) "Die Internationalität und der Krieg" (Internationalism and War), *Die Neue Zeit* No. 8, November 27, 1914; and 2) "Die Sozialdemokratie im Kriege" (Social-Democracy in the War), *Die Neue Zeit* No. 1, October 2, 1914. In "Die Sozialdemokratie im Kriege" he wrote that "if it comes to war, every nation has to defend itself as best it can. It follows that Social-Democrats of all nations have an equal right or an equal duty to take part in this defence; none should hurl reproaches at another." p. 311

[346] The General Commission of the German trade unions accused *Vorwärts* of giving insufficient attention to practical problems and slack defence against attacks by other Socialist parties, and also of generalising German acts of cruelty while justifying those of the enemy (see *Vorwärts* Nos. 321, 323 and 325, November 24, 26 and 28, 1914—"Aus der Partei"). p. 312

[347] Lenin read his lecture, "The War and Social-Democracy", in Zurich, apparently not earlier than October 27, 1914. In connection with it, *Vorwärts* No. 308 published an item, "Lenin über die ukrainische Frage" (Lenin on the Ukrainian Question) on November 10, 1914. *Vorwärts* No. 319, November 22, 1914, carried an item saying that Lenin had asked the Editorial Board to inform readers that he had dealt not only with the struggle against tsarism (and, in this connection, with the Ukrainian question), but also with the collapse of the Second International and the stand taken by the German and Austrian Social-Democrats during the war. p. 312

[348] *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 36 appeared on January 9, 1915, but the masthead erroneously said "December 12, 1914". A correction appeared in No. 39, March 3, 1915. p. 313

[349] A reference to V. A. Karpinsky's remarks on Lenin's article "On the National Pride of the Great Russians", in his letter to Lenin of December 9, 1914 (see *Lenin Miscellany XI*, pp. 257-58). p. 313

[350] An apparent reference to a report "Working-Class Petersburg and the War (A St. Petersburg Worker's Notes on the Early Stages of the War)", published in the magazine *Kommunist* No. 1-2, 1915. p. 314

[351] A reference to L. Martov's letter to the *Golos* Editorial Board, "About My Imaginary Solitude" (*Golos* No. 87, December 23, 1914). The letter and his report on "The War and the Crisis of Socialism", read in Berne on December 16, 1914, marked Martov's retreat from his stand in the early stages of the war. p. 314

[352] A reference to the Conference of Socialists of Neutral Countries held in Copenhagen on January 17 and 18, 1915, in which the Social-Democratic parties of Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Holland took part. Lenin was against the R.S.D.L.P. C.C. sending an official representative to the Conference. p. 314

[353] An apparent reference to the appeal of the St. Petersburg liquidators: "To Minister Vandervelde, Belgium." p. 315

[354] A reference to a questionnaire in *The Labour Leader* No. 52, December 24, 1914, on the question of peace, called "Peace and Goodwill Shall yet Reign. Messages of Fraternity Across the Battlefields". Kautsky's views headed the list. p. 315

[355] The Central Committee Section Abroad did not have a printing shop of its own, and the Central Organ was set up at a private type-setting shop belonging to Lyakhotsky, an old Ukrainian émigré (well known among political émigrés as Kuzma), and printed in Geneva. Lyakhotsky's type-setting shop was the only one in Switzerland which had Russian type, and so catered for

various organisations. The setting of *Sotsial-Demokrat* became extremely difficult in early 1915, when *Borotba*, a newspaper of the Ukrainian nationalists, was also composed there. Kuzma and Kuzmikha (his wife), who had great influence on her husband, sympathised with *Borotba*. The problem was being constantly discussed and this is reflected in Lenin's and N. K. Krupskaya's letters to V. A. Karpinsky and others. In early 1915 Russian type was found in Benteli's printing shop in Bumplitz (near Berne) and a number of issues of *Sotsial-Demokrat* and other material were printed there.

The suggestion to send a compositor from Paris apparently came from G. Y. Belenky, but it was not implemented. p. 316

[356] The telegram was in reply to Granat Publishers, who had informed Lenin that his article "Karl Marx (A Brief Biographical Sketch with an Exposition of Marxism)", written for their Encyclopaedic Dictionary, had to be abridged. The abridged article, signed V. Ilyin, appeared in Vol. 28 of the Dictionary. The full text was published in 1925 (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 43-91) p. 317

[357] *Russkaya Shkola* (Russian School)—a pedagogical journal for teachers and parents published and edited by Y. Gurevich from 1890 to 1918. Its No. 7-8 for 1911 carried N. K. Krupskaya's article "Co-education".

Svobodnoye Vospitaniye (Liberal Education)—a pedagogical monthly edited by I. Gorbunov-Posadov from 1907 to 1918. It carried a number of Krupskaya's articles on questions of teaching and co-education. p. 317

[358] Photographs of the Social-Democratic deputies (in prison garb) who were convicted in the case of the R.S.D.L. group in the Duma. They were intended for sale among Swedish workers. p. 319

[359] The *Menshevik Organising Committee* (O.C.) was formed at the August 1912 conference of Menshevik-liquidators, Trotskyites and other anti-Party groups and trends. Martov, Axelrod, Martynov and Semkovsky, mentioned in the letter, were members of the O.C. Secretariat Abroad. p. 319

[360] A. G. Shlyapnikov made a trip to Britain, where he tried to find a job. p. 321

[361] The summary of a lecture. It is not known whether or not it was read. p. 322

[362] Julian Borchardt's group, *Internationale Sozialisten Deutschlands* (International Socialists of Germany), together with the *Internationale* group (Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring, Clara Zetkin and others) constituted the revolutionary opposition among the German Social-Democrats and openly opposed the war. p. 323

[363] On the eve of the 1905 Russian revolution, the priest Gapon, on assignment from the Okhranka (Secret Political Police), formed an organisation, the Assembly of Russian Factory Workers, with the aim of distracting the workers' attention from revolutionary struggle. On January 9 (22), 1905, Gapon provoked the workers into marching to the Winter Palace to hand in a petition to the tsar. On the tsar's orders, the demonstrators were shot down. p. 327

[364] *Volksrecht* (People's Right) No. 97, April 27, 1915, carried an article, "Die Anleihenspirale" (Loan Spiral), which exposed the financial machinations of Helferich (German Minister of Finance) designed to ensure the success of the second 10-billion war loan. p. 327

[365] An apparent reference to the miscellany, *What Russia Expects from the War*, published by the Cadets. p. 329

[366] Swiss Socialist R. Grimm, an organiser of the Zimmerwald Conference, wanted to carry out preparations for the conference without the Bolsheviks. Later he had to abandon his intentions and a Bolshevik took part in the preliminary meeting on the convocation of the conference. p. 329

[367] The two conferences in Berne were: 1) International Conference of Socialist Women in March 1915 (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 199-203); and 2) International Socialist Youth Conference in April 1915. p. 329

[368] A reference to the "swing" of the Centrists from justifying the war to struggling for peace. A call for peace and party unity "in spite of differences of opinion", i.e., in essence, unity with the social-chauvinists, was expressed in the "manifesto" *Das Gebot der Stunde* (Demand of the Time) signed by Karl Kautsky, Eduard Bernstein and Hugo Haase and published in *Leipziger Volkszeitung* No. 139, June 19, 1915. p. 330

[369] The Dutch Left-wing Social-Democrats, Anton Pannekoek, Herman Gorter and D. J. Wijnkoop. p. 330

[370] Report of a delegate of the R.S.D.L.P. C.C. on the preliminary meeting held at Berne on July 11, 1915, on the convocation of an International Socialist Conference.

It was attended by representatives of the Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland, the Italian Socialist Party, the Executive of the Polish Social-Democratic Party and the P.S.P. Lewiça (Left-wing), the Menshevik Organising Committee and the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. The meeting decided on another meeting which was to take the final decision on calling the conference. The second meeting was not held. p. 332

[371] *Lichtstrahlen* (Rays of Light)—a monthly of the group of Left-wing Social-Democrats in Germany (Internationale Sozialisten Deutschlands), published under the editorship of J. Borchardt. It was issued irregularly in Berlin from 1913 to 1921. p. 332

[372] See present edition, Vol. 35, pp. 195-97. p. 332

[573] The *Stern* (Star) group was never set up. The Bremen Left-wing Social-Democrats formed the *Internationale Sozialisten Deutschlands* group. p. 332

[374] A reference to the *Conference of R.S.D.L.P. Groups Abroad* in Berne between February 27 and March 4, 1915, convened on Lenin's initiative. It had the significance of an all-Party conference because it was impossible to call a congress or an all-Russia conference during the war. The main item on its agenda was the question of war and the Party's tasks. Lenin gave the report.

Lenin also wrote all the main resolutions and the introduction to them. They appeared in *Sotsial-Demokrat* and also as a supplement to the pamphlet *Socialism and War*, which was published in Russian and German. The resolutions of the Berne Conference were also published in leaflet form in French and circulated among the delegates to the Zimmerwald Socialist Conference and mailed to Left-wing Social-Democrats in other countries. p. 333

[375] A reference to the drafts of a manifesto, declaration and resolutions written for preliminary discussion among Left-wing delegates of various socialist parties and for subsequent motioning at the Zimmerwald Conference on behalf of the Left (see present edition, Vol. 35, pp. 193-94). p. 334

[376] J. Borchardt's pamphlet, *Vor und nach dem 4. August 1914. Hat die deutsche Sozialdemokratic abgedankt?* Verlag der Lichtstrahlen (Before and After August 4, 1914. Have the German Social-Democrats Recanted? Lichtstrahlen Publishers), Berlin, 1915, in which he first sharply criticised the treacherous behaviour of German Social-Democrats at the outbreak of the war. For Lenin's opinion on this pamphlet see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 130. p. 334

[377] A reference to the resolution adopted by the International Conference of Socialist Women held in Berne from March 26 to 28, 1915. See Lenin's article "On the Struggle Against Social-Chauvinism" (present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 199-203). p. 335

[378] Ch. Dumas, C. Racovski, *Les Socialiste et la Guerre*, Bucharest, 1915. p. 336

[379] A reference to N. Lenin, G. Zinoviev, *Socialism and War* (*The Attitude of the R.S.D.L.P. towards the War*). p. 338

[380] The resolutions of the Berne Conference of R.S.D.L.P. Groups Abroad (February 27-March 4, 1915) appeared in *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 40, March 29, 1915 (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 158-64). p. 339

[381] A reference to the Resolution on the National Question, adopted by the August (Summer) Joint Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. C.C. with Party officials held at Poronin (near Cracow) from September 23 to October 1 (October 6 to 14), 1913 (see present edition, Vol. 19, pp. 427-29). p. 339

[382] Instead of a second preliminary meeting at Zimmerwald the conference proper was held there from September 5 to 8, 1915. It was the scene of a struggle between revolutionary internationalists led by Lenin, and the Kautskyite majority. Lenin organised his supporters into the Zimmerwald Left, a group in which the Bolshevik Party was alone in consistently following a correct and internationalist line against the war.

The conference adopted a manifesto, which declared the war to be imperialist, condemned the behaviour of the "socialists" who voted for the war credits and took part in bourgeois governments, and called on the workers of Europe to campaign against the war, for a peace without indemnities and annexations.

The conference also adopted a resolution expressing sympathy with the victims of war and elected an International Socialist Commission (I.S.K).

On the significance of the Zimmerwald Conference, see Lenin's "The First Step" and "Revolutionary Marxists at the International Socialist Conference, Sept. 5-8, 1915" (present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 383-88 and 389-93). p. 341

[383] Lenin's "The Draft Resolution Proposed by the Left Wing at Zimmerwald" (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 345-48). p. 341

[384] A reference to the International Socialist Conference held at Zimmerwald from September 5 to 8, 1915. p. 342

[385] The pamphlet, *Socialism and War* (*The Attitude of the R.S.D.L.P. towards the War*), was published in German in 1915, on the eve of the Zimmerwald Conference. p. 342

[386] A reference to the credential from the Lettish Social-Democratic Party for the Zimmerwald Socialist Conference. J. A. Berzin had not apparently intended to attend the conference at first and had handed the credential to Lenin. p. 343

[387] A reference to "The Draft Resolution Proposed by the Left Wing at Zimmerwald". p. 343

[388] *Yelizaveta Rivlina*—a member of the Communist Party from 1908; at the time, secretary of the Lausanne Bolshevik group. p. 345

[389] Paul Golay did not attend the Zimmerwald Conference. Charles Naine was a delegate from the Swiss Social-Democratic Party and took an active part in its work. p. 345

[390] *Charles H. Kerr*—an American publisher of socialist literature, with whom Alexandra Kollontai negotiated by letter on the publication in English of the pamphlet *Socialism and War* and *Internationale Flugblätter* No. 1. It did not prove possible to issue the pamphlet in America. p. 346

[391] An apparent reference to T. Nerman, who took part in the First International Socialist Conference as a delegate from the Norwegian Socialist Youth Organisation. p. 347

[392] Lenin's report on the Zimmerwald Conference, "Revolutionary Marxists at the International Socialist Conference, Sept. 5-8, 1915", appeared in *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 45-46, October 11, 1915 (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 389-93). p. 348

[393] A reference to the pamphlet *Socialism and War* (*The Attitude of the R.S.D.L.P. towards the War*). p. 348

[394] The pamphlet *Socialism and War*. p. 349

[395] The joint declaration (against the war) issued by the French and German delegations at the International Socialist Conference at Zimmerwald (*Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 45-46, October 11, 1915). p. 349

[396] The Manifesto of the International Socialist Conference at Zimmerwald published by *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 45-46, October 11, 1915. The Left, having signed this manifesto, issued a special statement, which they submitted to the presidium of the conference, on their motives for supporting the manifesto. The statement appeared in *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 47, October 13, 1915. p. 349

[397] A reference to Romain Rolland's articles in *Journal de Genève* from August to October 1914. The French Government held up the re-issue of these articles, and they were published only in 1915 in the collection, Romain Rolland, *Au-dessus de la mêlée*. Paris. Paul Ollendorff; Neuchâtel, Attinger Frères, 1915. p. 350

[398] *Vperyod* (Forward)—a periodical of the *Vperyod* group, published in Geneva from August 25, 1915 (No. 1 to February 1, 1917 (No. 6). Among those who took part in the publication were A. V. Lunacharsky (A. Voinov), P. I. Lebedev (V. Polyansky), and D. Z. Manuilsky (I. Bezrabotny). p. 350

[399] A reference to the miscellany *The International and the War* No. 1, issued by the Secretariat Abroad of the Organising Committee of the R.S.D.L.P, in 1915. p. 350

[400] The magazine *Kommunist* was founded by Lenin and published by the editorial board of *Sotsial-Demokrat* jointly with G. L. Pyatakov and Yevgenia Bosch, who financed the publication. N. I. Bukharin was also on the editorial board. Only one (double) issue appeared. It carried Lenin's articles "The Collapse of the Second International", "The Voice of an Honest French Socialist", and "Imperialism and Socialism in Italy".

Lenin expected to turn the magazine into an organ of the Left-wing Social-Democrats, but serious differences soon developed between the *Sotsial-Demokrat* Editorial Board and Bukharin, Pyatakov and Bosch, which were aggravated after the appearance of the first issue. p. 350

[401] *Avanti!* (Forward!)—a daily, the central organ of the Italian Socialist Party, founded in Rome in December 1896. Its No. 260 of September 19, 1915 carried an item, entitled "Il convegno internationale di Zimmerwald" (International Conference at Zimmerwald), which, contrary to the secrecy agreed upon, gave all the particulars of the organisation of the conference and even carried a number of photographs of the house where it was held. p. 351

[402] A reference to the manifesto adopted by the First International Socialist Conference at Zimmerwald, and a report on it carried, with some distortions, by *Berner Tagwacht* (Berne Sentinel) No. 218, September 18, 1915, and in *Bulletin der I.S.K.* (I.S.C. Bulletin) No. 1, September 21, 1915. p. 352

[403] A reference to the International Socialist Commission (I.S.C.) in Berne, the executive of the Zimmerwald group, set up at the Zimmerwald Conference held from September 5 to 8, 1915. On the I.S.C. were the Centrists R. Grimm, O. Morgari, Charles Naine and A. Balabanova, who acted as interpreter. The official report of the Conference, which appeared in *Bulletin der I.S.K.* on September 21, 1915, said: "This Secretariat must in no case substitute for the existing International Bureau but must be dissolved as soon as the latter is in a position to play its proper role." The copy at the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee shows this place underlined by Lenin with the following note in the margin: "Kein Beschluss darüber" (No decision on this). p. 352

[404] The draft resolution proposed by the Zimmerwald Left and a statement giving the motives on which the Left Social-Democrats voted for the official manifesto at the Conference. p. 352

[405] A reference to the pamphlet *Socialism and War*. p. 352

[406] Lenin gave a lecture, entitled "The International Socialist Conference of September 5-8, 1915", in Zurich on October 23, 1915. p. 353

[407] A reference to P. Axelrod's pamphlet *Die Krise und die Aufgaben der internationalen Sozialdemokratie* (The Crisis and the Tasks of International Social-Democracy), Zurich, 1915. p. 353

[408] During his trip to arrange the transportation of Bolshevik literature to Russia, A. G. Shlyapnikov discovered in Vardö (a port in the north of Norway) a stock of literature left over from 1906 and 1907, when the illegal shipping arrangements were disrupted. It included sets of the Bolshevik newspapers *Vperyod* and *Proletary*, and various pamphlets. A part of this literature was sent to Russia on Lenin's instructions. p. 354

[409] A reference to: 1) a resolution on the attitude to non-proletarian parties adopted at the London Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. in 1907; 2) a resolution on the Narodniks adopted by the August (Summer) 1913 Joint Conference of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. and Party officials (see *KPSS v resolyutsiyakh...*, Part One, 1954, pp. 164-65 and 316-17). p. 354

[410] A reference to A. G. Shlyapnikov's illegal trip to Russia. p. 355

[411] *Bulletin der Internationale Sozialistische Kommission zu Bern* was published by the Executive of the Zimmerwald Group from September 1915 to January 1917 in English, French and German. Altogether six issues appeared. Its No. 1 carried the Manifesto of the International Socialist Conference in Zimmerwald and an official report on the Conference. p. 356

[412] The draft resolution proposed by the Zimmerwald Left. p. 356

[413] The official report on the Zimmerwald Conference, carried in the first issue of *Bulletin der Internationale Sozialistische Kommissin zu Bern*, did not say that Borchardt had signed the draft resolution of the Left. p. 356

[414] The leaflets the C.C. Bureau Abroad intended to publish for circulation in Russia. p. 357

[415] A reference to Alexandra Kollontai's pamphlet *Who Needs the War?*, issued in 1916 by the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee. Lenin's corrections to this pamphlet are in *Lenin Miscellany XVII*, pp. 324-30. p. 357

[416] The idea of Lenin's moving from Switzerland to a neutral Scandinavian country, which did not materialise. p. 357

[417] The draft resolution proposed at the Zimmerwald Conference by the Left. p. 358

[418] A statement on Ledebour's peremptory demand that the Conference should not pass a resolution prohibiting organisations attending the Conference from voting for war credits (he said the

question should be decided on the strength of each country's strategic position). The statement was quoted in *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 47, October 13, 1915 ("Two Statements at the International Conference"). p. 358

[419] A reference to *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 47, which was issued on October 13 (two days after the double issue, No. 45-46) and which dealt almost entirely with the state of Social-Democratic work in Petrograd and Moscow. It also carried Lenin's "Several Theses Proposed by the Editors", dealing with topical issues of Social-Democratic work in Russia (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 401-04).

The gist of Karpinsky's reply is not known but it appears to be negative, because *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 47 was not printed by Kuzma, but by Benteli in Bumplitz. p. 359

[420] This may be a reference to *Internationale Flugblätter* No. 1, issued in November 1915, and carrying F. Platten's Zurich address. On the strength of this, Lenin's letter in the Fourth Edition of his *Sobraniya Sochineny* (Collected Works) is dated "late November-early December 1915".

But it is also possible that Lenin was referring to the leaflet *Gegen die Lüge der Vaterlandsverteidigung* (Against the Lies of Defence of the Fatherland) No. 1, which was issued in February 1917, and signed by "a group of Zimmerwald Left-wingers in Switzerland". This leaflet bears no publisher's address, which warrants the assumption that Lenin's letter might have been written in February 1917. p. 361

[421] A possible reference to the struggle between the Left and the Centrists at the Aarau Congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland on November 20-21, 1915, or the referendum on the calling of an extraordinary Party congress announced by the Swiss Left-wing Social-Democrats in January 1917. p. 361

[422] A reference to the second election of representatives from the workers to the war industries committees (central and regional). The social-chauvinists were defeated at the first election on September 27 (O.S.), 1915, when the Bolsheviks carried through their resolution to the effect that it was impermissible for representatives of the proletariat to take part in "organisations which in anyway promoted the present war". With the help of the bourgeoisie, the social-chauvinists launched a successful campaign to nullify the first election. At the second election held on November 29 (O.S.), 1915, the Bolsheviks read out a statement censuring the actions of the defencists and walked out. In this way, the defencists, with the aid of the bourgeoisie, managed to elect 10 of their men to the "workers' group" from among the Mensheviks and S.R.s. p. 362

[423] A possible reference to the resolution of the Geneva Bolshevik

group on the election to the war industries committee in Petrograd. p. 362

[424] A reference to *Vorbote* (Herald), organ of the Zimmerwald Left, whose No. 1 was issued in Berne in January 1916, and No. 2 in April 1916. Anton Pannekoek and Henriette Roland-Hoist were its official publishers. Among those taking part were Lenin, K. Radek, H. Gorter and D. Wijnkoop. The magazine carried Lenin's "Opportunism and the Collapse of the Second International" and "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination (Theses)" (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 108-20 and 143-56). p. 362

[425] The changes in the constitution boiled down to the representatives of the Zimmerwald Left being invited to work in *Vorbote* not as editors, as had been planned earlier, but as contributors (see pp. 394-95). p. 363

[426] A reference to Lenin's work on his book *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. p. 365

[427] In Zurich, Lenin read two lectures: on February 17, 1916, "Two Internationals", and on February 26, 1916, "'Conditions of Peace' in Connection with the National Question". p. 365

[428] N. K. Krupskaya's book *Public Education and Democracy* was not published by Parus, as had been planned, and was only issued in 1917 by the Zhizn i Znaniye Publishers. p. 367

[429] In view of the need to work in Zurich libraries, Lenin and N. K. Krupskaya moved to Zurich in February 1916. p. 368

[430] In Geneva, Lenin read a lecture, "'Conditions of Peace' in Con-Connection with the National Question", on March 1, 1916. It was attended by 200 persons. The Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee has no information on the lecture at Lausanne. p. 369

[431] A reference to the enlarged conference of the International Socialist Commission held in Berne from February 5 to 9, 1916. Lenin took an active part in the work of the conference: he wrote the "Draft Resolution on the Convocation of the Second Socialist Conference" and the delegation's proposals on the terms of representation at the conference (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 121-22). Lenin criticised the false internationalism of the Mensheviks; spoke on the discussion of the draft appeal of the I.S.C., "To All Affiliated Parties and Groups"; tabled amendments to the draft of the appeal and made a statement on behalf of the Bolsheviks and the Territorial Executive of the Social-Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania against inviting Kautsky, Haase and Bernstein to the Second International Socialist Conference.

Soon after the conference, Lenin circulated among the Bolshevik groups abroad a brief about the meeting, instructing them to start immediate preparations for the forthcoming Second International Socialist Conference. p. 371

[432] The internationalist club was organised at Geneva in December 1915 by Left-wing internationalist émigrés. p. 371

[433] The letter is Lenin's reply to Y. Larin's proposal to take part in a collection criticising defencism and substantiating the Zimmerwald platform. It was to be published legally in Russia. Among the contributors abroad were to be Axelrod, Lunacharsky and Martov. In Russia, they were being selected by N. Sukhanov. The terms on which these were accepted included, in particular, the stipulation that "the articles of the collection should not contain any attacks by contributors against each other". The collection was not issued. p. 372

[434] The effort to publish *Internationale Flugblätter* No. 1 in America was unsuccessful. p. 373

[435] *Socialist Propaganda League* was founded in Boston in 1915, as an independent group within the Socialist Party. It adopted the platform of the Zimmerwald Left and rallied the revolutionary elements of the Socialist Party. p. 373

[436] A letter to the secretary of the Socialist Propaganda League in America, written by Lenin in November 1915 (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 423-28). p. 373

[437] The talks with Charles Kerr, the publisher of socialist literature, on the publication in America of the pamphlet *Socialism and War* in English did not yield any results. p. 374

[438] *Internationale Korrespondenz* (International Correspondence)—a weekly, published in Berlin by the German social-chauvinists from the end of September 1914 to October 1, 1918. p. 374

[439] A hint at the differences and the struggle between Lenin, on the one hand, and Radek, Pyatakov and others, on the other, on the question of self-determination of nations, as a result of which *Kommunist* ceased publication. p. 375

[440] The proposals by the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. to the Second Zimmerwald Conference were written in response to the I.S.C.'s "Appeal to All Affiliated Parties and Groups" (see *Internationale Sozialistische Kommission zu Bern. Bulletin* No. 3, February 29, 1916).

There are two variants of the proposals in manuscript of which the initial 15-point text is published in this volume. For the second (final) eight-point variant see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 169-79.

The *Second International Socialist Conference* was held in Kienthal (Switzerland) from April 24 to 30, 1916. It was attended by the representatives of Germany (7), Italy (7), Russia (8, including Lenin and Petrova [Inessa Armand]), Poland (5), France (4), Switzerland (5), etc., a total of 43 persons, of whom 12 were firm supporters of the Left.

On the agenda there were the following items: the struggle to end the war, the proletariat's attitude to the questions of peace, parliamentary activity and mass struggle; the convocation of the International Socialist Bureau, etc. At this Conference, the Left was stronger than at Zimmerwald. Lenin secured the adoption of a resolution criticising social-pacifism and the activity of the International Socialist Bureau. The Conference helped to bring out and rally the internationalist elements who, in 1919, on the initiative of Lenin and the Bolsheviks, get up the Third, Communist, International. But the Conference failed to adopt the basic planks of Bolshevik policy, namely, transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war, defeat of one's own imperialist government in the war, and organisation of the Third International. p. 377

[441] The congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Holland was held at Arnhem on January 8 and 9, 1916. p. 378

[442] *London Conference of Socialists of the Entente Countries* was held on February 14, 1915. It was attended by social-chauvinists and pacifists from the socialist parties of Britain, France, and Belgium, and by the Mensheviks and S.R.s from Russia.

Although the Bolsheviks had not been invited, Litvinov (Maximovich) went to the conference on Lenin's instructions to read out a declaration of the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee, based on a draft written by Lenin. It demanded the withdrawal of socialists from bourgeois governments, a complete break with the imperialists, refusal to co-operate with them, resolute struggle against one's own imperialist government and condemnation of the voting of war credits. Litvinov was reading the declaration, when he was interrupted and ruled out of order. He handed the text of the declaration to the presidium and left the conference. For details on the London conference, see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 132-34 and 178-80.

The *Vienna Conference of Socialists of Germany and Austria*, a kind of response to the London Conference of Socialists of the Entente Countries, was held in April 1915. It endorsed the social-chauvinist "Defend the Fatherland" slogan. p. 379

[443] A reference to K. Kautsky's article "Nochmals unsere Illusionen" (Once Again about Our Illusions) in *Die Neue Zeit* No. 8, May 21, 1915. p. 379

[444] A reference to the editorial article in *Avanti!* No. 65 of March 5, 1916, entitled "Polemica in casa nostra" (Polemics in Our Camp),

in which the editors quoted an extract from Trèves's article in *Critica sociale*, and polemised with him. p. 380

[445] *Circular of the International Socialist Commission*—an appeal from the I.S.C. to all parties and groups of the Zimmerwald Association, adopted unanimously at the February meeting of the I.S.C. in Berne in 1916. The delegation of the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee, led by Lenin, tabled a statement saying that it regarded the appeal as a step forward in comparison with the decisions of the First International Socialist Conference in Zimmerwald, but did not find it satisfactory in every respect. The appeal appeared in *Bulletin der I.S.K.* No. 3 on February 29, 1916 and in *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 52 on March 25, 1916. p. 383

[446] A reference to the news of the arrest by the Swedish authorities in Stockholm of the Russian émigrés, N. I. Bukharin, G. L. Pyatakov, Y. Surits and A. I. Gordon. After a few days' detention, they were released and deported from Sweden. p. 388

[447] The *Conference of Socialists of Neutral Countries* set by C. Huysmans for June 26, 1916 was held in The Hague on July 31. It was attended by eight delegates from Holland, by K. Branting from Sweden, by Th. Stauning from Denmark, and one delegate each from Argentina and the United States. This Conference of socialist Right-wingers adopted a resolution favouring freedom of trade as a condition of "stable peace and international solidarity". p. 389

[448] A reference to C. Huysmans's report at the extraordinary congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Holland in Arnhem on January 9, 1916, on the activity of the International. He put forward a programme of "democratic peace" and made the following proposals: 1) limitation of armaments; 2) national self-determination; 3) democratisation of diplomacy; and 4) establishment of a court of arbitration. He dealt with the Zimmerwald Conference and its Left wing. The newspaper *Volksfreund*, in an article entitled "De Brouckère über die Internationale" (De Brouckère about the International) in its No. 38 of February 15, 1916, carried the full text of a letter from the editor of the banned Belgian Social-Democratic newspaper, *Le Peuple*, L. de Brouckère, to P. Renaudel (the editor of *l'Humanité* during the First World War). In the concluding part of its article, *Volksfreund* wrote: "Just as it is impossible to restore, together with Huysmans, the old image of the Second International with the aid of phrases, so the new International, together with de Brouckère cannot be a shadow repeating the actions of the imperialism of the Entente. The new International will either become a militant, cohesive organisation against the imperialism of the East, the West and of Central Europe, or it will be a mere phrase or a tool of imperialism." p. 389

[449] A reference to the item "Huysmans über die Internationale" (Huysmans on the International) in the newspaper *Volksstimme* (People's Voice) No. 8, January 12, 1916. p. 389

[450] *Zeth Höglund*—a leader of the Left-wing Social-Democrats and the youth movement in Sweden; on May 3, 1916, he was sentenced to three years' imprisonment at hard labour for his anti-war action. p. 389

[451] A reference to the publication of *Internationale Flugblätter* No. 1 in English. p. 389

[452] The Second International Conference held in Kienthal (Switzerland) from April 24 to 30, 1916. p. 390

[453] Among the French delegation at the Kienthal Conference were Jean Longuet's supporters: P. Brizon, A. Blanc and J. Raffin-Dugens, who after the war joined the French Communist Party; Brizon soon left the party. p. 390

[454] The Left wing at the Kienthal Conference was stronger than at Zimmerwald. At the First International Socialist Conference, the Zimmerwald Left consisted of eight persons, and of twelve at Kienthal, and on some issues obtained nearly one half the votes. This was a reflection of the change in the balance of forces in the international working-class movement in favour of the internationalists.

Lenin, referring to the strengthening of the Left at the Conference, has the following delegates in mind: Katslerovich (Serbia), Platten, Nobs, Agnes Robmann (Switzerland) and Guilbeaux (France), who joined the Zimmerwald Left. The German *Internationale* group was represented by Berta Thalheimer and E. Meyer. p. 390

[455] The name given to G. Pyatakov and Yevgenia Bosch because they had emigrated from Russia to Switzerland via Japan. p. 390

[456] There was no agreement on Lenin's terms. *Sbornik Sotsial Demokrata* was issued in place of *Kommunist*. p. 391

[457] Lenin's plan was not accepted by the Bukharin-Pyatakov group, who insisted on their own plan, under which, apart from Lenin's articles on the right of nations to self-determination, the publication was to contain articles by Radek, Pyatakov and Bukharin on the national question. p. 391

[458] The miscellany referred to here was to have been published abroad on the basis of material brought by Shlyapnikov from Russia and describing the condition of the Jews during the war. However, it did not appear. p. 391

[459] Lenin's lecture at Geneva, "Two Streams in the International Labour Movement", was given on Friday, June 2, 1916, according to the posters issued by the Geneva Bolshevik group, now in the Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee. The lecture at Lausanne was given on June 3. p. 392

[460] A reference to Radek's article "Ein ausgespieltes Lied" (Their Song Is Over) which appeared in *Berner Tagwacht* No. 108, May 9, 1916. For Lenin's assessment, see the article "The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up" (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 354-55). p. 395

[461] The article by A. Kulisher, "The Dublin Putsch", referred to here, appeared in *Rech* No. 102, April 15 (28), 1916. p. 395

[462] The Committee of the Organisation Abroad was set up in December 1911 at a conference of Bolshevik groups abroad. p. 395

[463] A reference to Alexandra Kollontai's letter to Lenin on May 28, 1916, reporting the withdrawal from the Central Committee of the Swedish Social-Democratic Party of its secretary F. Strom and three of its members, which deepened the "actual although not yet formal split of the party". She went on to say: "The Swedes are working well to build up the Left wing. They are drawing up a clever plan of battle, which they intend to fight against the Right wing at the party congress to be held in winter, as a result of which the party's formal break-up will follow logically. They should be supported in their desire to stand apart." Concerning the talks on the publication in America of Zimmerwald Left literature, Kollontai wrote: "There is no reply from America yet, but a few days ago the mail arrived and I received a reply on the letters sent simultaneously with letters to the Socialist Labour Party and to Charles Kerr." p. 397

[464] The Conference of Socialists of Neutral Countries set for June 26, 1916 was held at The Hague on July 31, 1916. Lenin is referring to the participation in it of a Left-winger from the Norwegian Social-Democratic Party. p. 397

[465] A reference to L. Rybalka's pamphlet, *L'Ukraine et la Guerre* (The Ukraine and the War), Lausanne, 1916. In a letter to Lenin on May 28, 1916, Alexandra Kollontai called it a "disgracefully chauvinist" piece of writing. p. 397

[466] On A. Shlyapnikov's proposal, the C.C. Bureau in Russia examined the friction within the editorial board of *Kommunist* and adopted the following resolution: "Having heard the statement of Comrade Belenin (A. Shlyapnikov) concerning the differences within the collegium of workers of the Party press on various points of the Party programme and tactics, the C.C. Bureau deems it necessary to inform the C.O. editorial board abroad of the

following: 1) The C.C. Bureau in Russia, declaring its complete solidarity with the main line of the C.C., being conducted in the C.O., *Sotsial-Demokrat*, expresses the wish that all C.C. publications should be edited in a strictly consistent spirit, in complete accord with the C.C. line adopted by it at the outbreak of war; 2) The Bureau goes on record as opposing the transformation of C.C. publications into discussion publications; 3) The Bureau believes that the differences between contributors on some questions of the minimum programme and the C.O. editorial board cannot be an obstacle to their participation in C.C. publications, and invites the C.O. Editorial Board to accept their collaboration on other questions which are not at issue, 4) The Bureau suggests that private publishers should be used in Russia and abroad to clear up and eliminate differences through the issue of special discussion collections." p. 400

[467] A reference to the draft agreement on the further publication of *Kommunist*, drawn up by G. Pyatakov and Yevgenia Bosch, and transmitted by A. Shlyapnikov to Lenin. In the text of the draft Lenin struck out the following points:

"The founders of the publishing house and its responsible representatives are Comrades P. and N. Kievsky";

"The consent of at least two editors is required for the insertion of articles by contributors in the *Kommunist*'s Discussion Section....";

"The sixth person is to be co-opted to the publishing house on the recommendation of Comrades Lenin and Zinoviev. Comrades Lenin and Zinoviev have the right to recommend a seventh person to the publishing house from among Party writers but his admission is to be subject to a vote and is to be decided by a simple majority of the editors...."

The Point 6 mentioned by Lenin is given in the draft agreement as follows:

"6. The Right of the C.C.

"The Party C.C. or its Bureau have the right to insert their official documents, statements, etc., in the magazine *Kommunist*, without however taking up more than 15 per cent of the total space." p. 401

[468] Differences between Lenin, and Radek and the Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania on the national question. The essence of these differences is set out by Lenin in his article "The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up" (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 320-60). p. 401

[469] See Note 467. p. 401

[470] A reference to K. Radek's intrigues against Lenin as a member of the *Vorbote* editorial board. For details, see pp. 394-95. p. 404

[471] A reference to "Thesen über Imperialismus und nationale Unterdrückung" (Theses on Imperialism and National Oppression),

first published in *Vorbote* No. 2, April 1916, on behalf of the organ of the Polish Social-Democratic opposition, *Gazeta Robotnicza* (Workers' Newspaper). p. 404

[472] A reference to the split within the Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania which lasted more than four years, from 1912 to 1916.

Leon Tyszka, a member of the Chief Executive, was a leading figure in the split. He supported the Executive and took a conciliatory stand in respect of the anti-Bolshevik groups within the R.S.D.L.P. on questions of Party organisation. For details on the split, see present edition, Vol. 19, pp. 495-98. p. 404

[473] Lenin's article "The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up" was published in *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata* No. 1, October 1916 (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 320-60). p. 404

[474] In May 1916, Inessa Armand returned to Switzerland from Paris. It is not known whether a passport was obtained. p. 408

[475] Yu. Delevsky, *Social Antagonisms and the Class Struggle in History*, St. Petersburg, Obshchestvennaya Polza Publishers, 1910. p. 408

[476] A reference to the participation of a Left-winger from the Norwegian Social-Democratic Party in the Conference of Socialists of Neutral Countries. p. 409

[477] A reference to the mailing of the manuscript of Lenin's *Imperialism, the Latest Stage of Capitalism*. For reasons of secrecy, such material was bound in specially prepared covers of other books. p. 412

[478] The person in question has not been identified. p. 412

[479] At the time, G. L. Shklovsky headed the Commission for Intellectual Assistance to POWs under the Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. Organisation Abroad. The Commission operated in Berne, and Shklovsky kept Lenin informed of its activity and sent him the most interesting POW letters. The commission was set up on Lenin's initiative and widely circulated Bolshevik literature on various aspects of the war and current events, established ties with POWs, and contacted revolutionary-minded men who helped to spread the Party's influence in POW camps. p. 412

[480] In his earlier letters, G. Belenky, secretary of the Bolshevik group in Paris, had suggested to Lenin that the publication of the second issue of *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata* should be organised in Paris, but failed to say beforehand that the edition could only be a legal one. The planned publication of leaflets in Paris was not carried out. p. 414

[481] A reference to the amendments to Bebel's resolution on anti-militarism tabled at the Stuttgart Congress of the Second International, held from August 18 to 23, 1907. Bebel's resolution had the basic defect of failing to state the active tasks of the proletariat, which gave the opportunists (Vollmar and others) an opportunity of reading it their own way. Accordingly, on behalf of the Russian and Polish delegations, Rosa Luxemburg motioned amendments to Bebel's resolution which were signed by Lenin. They 1) said that militarism was the chief instrument of class oppression; 2) stated the task of carrying on agitation among the youth, and 3) emphasised the task of Social-Democrats not only to struggle against the outbreak of wars or for the earliest halt to wars, but also use the wartime crisis to speed the downfall of the bourgeoisie. All these amendments were in the main included in Bebel's resolution and adopted by the Congress. For details, see Lenin's articles "The International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart" (present edition, Vol. 13, pp. 75-81 and 82-93). p. 415

[482] Lenin read his lecture on the 1905 revolution in German at a meeting arranged by working-class youth at the Zurich People's House on January 22 (9), 1917. For the text of the lecture, see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 236-53. p. 416

[483] Lenin's article "Strike Statistics in Russia" appeared in the magazine *Mysl* (Thought) No. 1, December 1910, and No. 2, January 1911 (see present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 393-421). p. 416

[484] *Diskussionny Listok* (The Discussion Bulletin) No. 3, April 29 (May 12), 1911, carried Lenin's article "The Historical Meaning of the Inner-Party Struggle in Russia", whose second section contains a summing up of the statistics of the strikes in Russia referred to by Lenin (see present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 374-92). p. 416

[485] A collection of articles by Vl. Gorn, V. Mech and Cherevanin, *The Struggle of Social Forces in the Russian Revolution*, Moscow. Issue Three, *The Peasantry and the Revolution*. p. 416

[486] Pyotr Maslov's book, *The Agrarian Question in Russia*, Vol. 11, *The Crisis of the Peasant Economy and the Peasant Movement*, St. Petersburg, Obshchestvennaya Polza Publishers, 1908. p. 416

[487] The book *Moscow in December 1905*, published in Moscow in 1906. For Lenin's review of it, see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 171-78. p. 416

[488] A reference to the theses "Tasks of the Left Zimmerwaldists in the Swiss Social-Democratic Party", written in late October or early November 1916, and published as a leaflet in French in 1918 (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 137-48). p. 416

[489] A reference to W. Münzenberg's speech at a sitting of the Exec-

utive of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party on January 7, 1917, on the question of postponing the party congress set for February 11, 1917, in Berne, to discuss the war question (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 217-19 and 283). p. 417

[490] *Parteibeschlüsse* (Party Decisions)—an unsigned editorial article in the daily of the Swiss Social-Democrats, *Berner Tagwacht* No. 6, January 8, 1917. p. 417

[491] The Zurich Social-Democratic newspaper, *Volksrecht* (People's Right) No. 11, January 13, 1917, carried an article "Zur Parteitagsverschiebung" (On the Postponement of the Party Congress), signed "g", opposing the decision of the Executive of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party of January 7 to postpone the convocation of the congress indefinitely. p. 417

[492] A reference to the resolution of the Left-wingers against the postponement of the congress and for its convocation in the spring of 1917. The text of the resolution in German with Lenin's corrections is now at the Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. The resolution served as a basis for the referendum which was held when local organisations came out in favour of calling the congress in the spring (*Volksrecht* No. 19, January 23, 1917, "Das Referendum gegen den Parteivorstandsbeschluss ergriffen" (The Referendum against the Executive Decision Is On). p. 418

[493] A reference to the draft statement adopted on January 15, 1917 at a meeting of the Swiss Left-wing Social-Democrats demanding Grimm's expulsion from the I.S.C. p. 418

[494] Sophia Ravich wrote to Lenin about the opportunism of the Geneva Social-Democratic organisation, among whose members a handful of Bolsheviks spread internationalist ideas. p. 419

[495] A reference to the attitude adopted by E. Nobs and F. Platten during the sharpening of the struggle within the Swiss Social-Democratic Party on the question of militarism and the behaviour of Social-Democrats in Parliament on the question of war credits. Thus, for instance, E. Nobs was against the motivated referendum stated by the Left on an urgent convocation of a congress. Both took part in a private meeting of Centrists held on February 3, 1917 (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 283-86). p. 419

[496] A reference to the leaflets published in Zurich by a group of Swiss, German, Polish and Russian supporters of the Zimmerwald Left. Lenin took part in editing *Bulletin* No. 1, organised its translation into foreign languages and did everything to circulate it. p. 419

[497] The Cantonal Congress of the Zurich Social-Democratic organisation in Töss was held on February 11 and 12, 1917. The Party organ, *Volksrecht* No. 36, of February 12, 1917, dealt with it in an editorial, entitled "Der Parteitag in Töss" (Party Congress at Töss)

Two draft resolutions on the war question were tabled at the Congress: 1) that of the minority of the war commission drawn up by the Right in a spirit of social-chauvinism; and 2) the Centrist draft of the majority. The Congress adopted the latter by 93 to 65. To prevent the social-chauvinist resolution from going through, the Left voted for the majority resolution but tabled Lenin's "Proposed Amendments to the Resolution on the War Issue", which was adopted by the Congress. p. 419

[498] On February 1, 1917, a meeting of some members of the Zimmerwald Conference was held at Olten with the participation of organisations invited to attend a conference of socialists from the Entente countries (March 1917) (see present edition, Vol. 23, p. 284). p. 419

[499] The referendum on the convocation of an extraordinary congress of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party to discuss the attitude to the war was announced by the Swiss Left-wing Social-Democrats in connection with the Executive's decision to postpone the congress indefinitely. Despite the struggle started by the leaders of the party, R. Grimm, I. Schmid, F. Schneider, H. Greulich and G. Müller (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 283-86), against the referendum, it was enthusiastically welcomed by the workers of German- and French-speaking Switzerland. But the party congress was held only in June 1917. p. 419

[500] At a conference of representatives of Russian political parties at Geneva on March 19, 1917, L. Martov proposed a plan to secure the passage of political émigrés via Germany in exchange for the same number of Germans and Austrians interned in Russia. All participants in the meeting recognised Martov's plan as being the best and most acceptable.

The plan was discussed in émigré circles and was adopted by the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. at the end of March (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 27-29; *Lenin Miscellany II*, 1924, pp. 385-94). p. 420

[501] The *Manifesto of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party to All the Citizens of Russia* issued by the R.S.D.L.P. C.C. and published in *Supplement to Izvestia* (News) of the Petrograd Soviet No. 1, February 28 (March 13), 1917. Lenin read extracts from the Manifesto carried by *Frankfurter Zeitung* No. 80, March 22, 1917, under the title, "Das Manifest der Sozialrevolutionäre" (Manifesto of Revolutionary Socialists). It demanded a democratic republic, an 8-hour working day, confiscation of landed estates in favour of the peasants, confiscation of grain stocks, and—the most important thing—an end to the plunderous war. On the significance of the Manifesto, see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 320 and 357. p. 421

[502] Lenin read his lecture, "The Russian Revolution, Its Significance and Its Tasks", in German at a meeting of Swiss workers at People's House in Zurich on March 27, 1917.

The basic propositions outlined in the plan for a lecture were elaborated by Lenin in his famous *Letters from Afar* (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 295-342). A brief account of the lecture appeared in the Zurich newspaper *Volksrecht* Nos. 77 and 78 on March 31 and April 2, 1917 (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 355-61). p. 422

[503] A reference to the decision of the Petrograd Soviet of March 2 (15), which approved, against the "protests of the minority", Kerensky's unauthorised entry into the bourgeois Provisional Government as Minister of Justice. p. 423

[504] For Thesis No. 4 on the Soviet of Workers' Deputies, see Lenin's article "Several Theses" (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 402). p. 423

[505] The teaching of Marx and Engels on the state in the transitional period was set forth in detail in *The Critique of the Gotha Programme* (see Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, Moscow, 1962, pp. 32-33). p. 423

[506] For Thesis No. 11, see Lenin's article "Several Theses", which was published in *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 47, October 13, 1915 (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 403-04). p. 424

[507] The rough draft of the telegram test written in German in someone else's hand has a note by Lenin in Russian: "Sent Saturday night, March 31, and received by Grimm on the morning of April 1." p. 427

[508] See present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 27-29, and this volume, p. 420. p. 427

[509] On March 31, 1917, the Central Committee Collegium Abroad adopted a decision on the immediate return of the émigrés to Russia via Germany (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 365-66). p. 428

[510] *M. Goberman*—Social-Democrat, Bolshevik, member of the Bolshevik group in Lausanne. *Abram* (mentioned below?—A. Skovno—Bolshevik, member of the Bolshevik group in Switzerland. Both returned to Russia with Lenin. p. 428

[511] A reference to the resolution of the internationalist Mensheviks and S.R.s, aimed against the decision of the C.C. Collegium Abroad to accept R. Grimm's proposal to travel immediately to Russia via Germany. The Mensheviks and the S.R.s wanted to wait for permission from the Soviet of Workers' Deputies. p. 428

[512] Lenin and a group of political émigrés left Switzerland on April 9, 1917 (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 27-29). p. 430

[513] Upon his arrival in Russia on April 3 (16), 1917, Lenin spoke about the new tasks facing the Bolshevik Party at a meeting of Petrograd Party workers organised that very night at the former Kšesinska mansion to mark his arrival. His speech was apparently based on the preliminary draft of the April Theses. p. 431

[514] *All-Russia Conference of Party Workers* (March Conference) was timed by the Russian Bureau of the R.S.D.L.P. C.C. for the All-Russia Conference of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies and opened on March 27 (April 9), 1917. On its agenda were: attitude to the war, attitude to the Provisional Government, organisation of revolutionary forces, etc.

The meeting of April 4 (17) at which Lenin gave his report was held in the Taurida Palace. Lenin explained his April Theses and quoted them in part. The text of his speech is reproduced from secretarial notes containing lacunae indicated with dots, apart from some places of the notes which are not quite clear.

All-Russia Conference of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, called by the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet, was held at Petrograd from March 29 to April 3 (April 11 to 16), 1917.

It was attended by representatives of the Petrograd Soviet and 82 local Soviets, and also of army units at the front and in the rear. It discussed the questions of the war, the attitude to the Provisional Government, the Constituent Assembly, land, food, and other problems

The Conference, which was dominated by Mensheviks and S.R.s, took the attitude of "revolutionary defencism" (325 against 57) and adopted a decision to support the bourgeois Provisional Government and also to call an international socialist conference on the question of withdrawal from the war. G. V. Plekhanov made two speeches in a spirit of social-patriotism. There were interruptions from the defencist majority when the Bolshevik P. I. Starostin called for an end to the war.

The Conference added 16 members to the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet, including six from the Army and Navy. p. 434

[515] A reference to a resolution on Tsereteli's report on the attitude towards the war, tabled by the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, controlled by Mensheviks and S.R.s, and adopted by the All-Russia Conference of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies on March 30 (April 12), 1917. Behind a façade of general statements about freedom and defence of the revolution, the resolution urged support for the Provisional Government's foreign policy, i.e., continuation of the imperialist war. p. 435

[516] A reference to the international socialist conferences at Zimmerwald and Kienthal. p. 436

[517] *Popular Socialists*—members of a petty-bourgeois Trudovik Po-

pular Socialist Party formed in 1906 by Right-wingers of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party (S.R.). They sided with the Cadets; Lenin called them "Social-Cadets", "philistine opportunists", "S.R. Mensheviks", vacillating between the S.R.s and the Cadets. He said, the party "differs very little from the Cadets, for it deletes from its programme both republicanism and the demand for all the land" (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 228). Among the party's leaders were A. V. Peshekhonov, N. F. Annensky and V. A. Myakotin. p. 438

[518] A reference to the money belonging to the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee which had been left abroad. p. 444

[519] *Steinberg*—a Russian engineer resident in Stockholm, a go-between in the correspondence. p. 444

[520] The "Liberty Loan" issued by the Provisional Government on April 6 (19), 1917 to finance the war. p. 445

[521] *The Seventh* (*April*) *All-Russia Conference of the R.S.D.L.P.*(*B.*) was held in Petrograd from April 24 to 29 (May 7-12), 1917. p. 445

[522] A reference to the attitude taken by *Pravda* in March 1917 before Lenin's arrival in Russia.

From mid-March, the paper carried articles by L. Kamenev, whom the C.C. Bureau of the R.S.D.L.P. gave permission to insert articles without signature. In these articles, the question of supporting the Provisional Government was presented in the light of the Menshevik formula "insofar as ...", "until the Provisional Government is played out". They guaranteed support for all its steps designed to "eradicate all the relics of the tsarist and landowner regime"; the government was invited to renounce annexations, etc.—all of which tended to sow illusions. Kamenev's editorial, "Without Secret Diplomacy", called for a continuation of the war, a stand which clashed with the Bolshevik attitude to the imperialist war.

Pravda's criticism of the conciliators was half-hearted. The editors sharply cut down Lenin's criticism of the conciliatory leadership of the Petrograd Soviet and his exposure of the monarchist aspirations of the Provisional Government in his first "Letter from Afar" carried by *Pravda* on March 21 and 22 (April 3 and 4). J. V. Stalin took the erroneous position of exerting pressure on the Provisional Government for an immediate opening of peace talks.

Upon his arrival in Petrograd, Lenin became a member of the editorial board, and *Pravda* started its struggle for his plan to transform the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist one. p. 445

[523] A trend among Swedish Social-Democrats. During the First World War, they took an internationalist stand and supported the

Zimmerwald Left. In May 1917 they formed the Left Social-Democratic Party of Sweden whose congress in 1919 decided to join the Communist International. In 1921, the party's revolutionary wing took the name of the Communist Party of Sweden. p. 445

[524] A reference to the agreement to form the bourgeois Provisional Government concluded on March 1 (14), 1917 by the Duma Provisional Committee and the S.R. and Menshevik leaders of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. Under the agreement the S.R.s and the Mensheviks handed over state power to the bourgeoisie, giving the Duma Provisional Committee a free hand in forming the Provisional Government, which was set up on March 2 (15), 1917. It included Prince Lvov, the Cadet leader Milyukov, the Octobrist leader Guchkav and other representatives of the bourgeoisie and the landowners. The S.R. Kerensky was taken into the government as a representative of "democracy".

The "contact commission" referred to below was formed under a decision of the conciliatory Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet of March 8 (21), 1917, to "influence" and supervise the activity of the Provisional Government. On it were M. I. Skobelev, Y. M. Steklov, N. N. Sukhanov, V. N. Filippovsky and N. S. Chkheidze (later also V. M. Chernov and I. G. Tsereteli). It helped the Provisional Government use the Petrograd Soviet prestige to veil its counter-revolutionary policy. The Mensheviks and S.R.s hoped it would help them keep the masses from active revolutionary struggle for transfer of power to the Soviets. The commission was dissolved in mid-April 1917 and its functions transferred to the Executive Committee Bureau. p. 445

[525] A reference to Lenin's pamphlet *Letters on Tactics. First Letter*, published in 1917 (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 43-54). p. 445

[526] For Lenin's Theses Nos. 8 to 11, see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 403-04. p. 448

[527] Lenin notes in parenthesis the paragraphs of the resolution on the agrarian question adopted on April 28 (May 11), 1917 by the Seventh (April) All-Russia Conference of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 292-93). p. 449

[528] *Frederik Borgbjerg*—a Danish reformist and a leader of the Danish Social-Democratic Party. In the spring of 1917 he came to Petrograd with the proposal to organise a conference of socialists from the belligerent countries. Lenin exposed the imperialist nature of his proposal and called Borgbjerg "an agent of the German Government". On Lenin's initiative the April Conference came out resolutely against the proposal (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 247-50, 251-53). p. 449

[529] A possible reference to Vasilyevsky Ostrov, which by that time had had its elections to the district Soviet; following this, the defencists, who were left in a minority, refused to submit to the majority and twice (April 28 and May 2) walked out from the meetings and disrupted the proceedings. p. 450

[530] *First All-Russia Congress of Peasants' Deputies*, held at Petrograd from May 4 to 28 (May 17-June 10), 1917, was attended by 1,115 delegates from the gubernias and army units. The Bolsheviks took an active part in the proceedings and exposed the imperialist policy of the bourgeois Provisional Government and the conciliatory policy of the Mensheviks and the S.R.s. On May 22 (June 4) Lenin delivered a speech on the agrarian question (see present edition, Vol. 24, pp. 486-505). However, all the Congress decisions bore the mark of S.R. domination. The Congress approved the policy of the bourgeois Provisional Government and the entry of "socialists" into the Provisional Government. It called for a continuation of the war "to a victorious end" and an offensive at the front. It came out against the immediate transfer of landed estates to the peasants and postponed the solution of the land question until a Constituent Assembly. p. 450

[531] *First All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies* was held in Petrograd from June 3 to 24 (June 16 to July 7), 1917. It was attended by more than 1,000 delegates. The Bolsheviks, who were then in a minority in the Soviets, had 105 delegates. The S.R.s and Mensheviks were in the majority. On the agenda were the following questions: the attitude to the Provisional Government, the war, preparations for a Constituent Assembly, etc. Lenin spoke on the attitude to the Provisional Government and on the war (see present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 17-28 and 29-42). The Bolsheviks motioned resolutions on all the major questions. They exposed the imperialist nature of the war, the danger of conciliation with the bourgeoisie and demanded the transfer of all power to the Soviets. The Congress decisions supported the Provisional Government, approved of the offensive then being prepared for and opposed the transfer of power to the Soviets. This may be the original plan of Lenin's speech at the Congress or of an article which he did not have the time to write. p. 452

[532] A reference to the "new", coalition Provisional Government which was formed on May 5 (18), 1917, and which began to function officially the following day. Together with representatives of the bourgeoisie it included the S.R.s Kerensky and Chernov, Pereverzev who was close to the S.R.s, the Mensheviks Skobelev and Tsereteli and the Popular Socialist Peshekhonov. p. 452

[533] A conference of members of the Fourth Duma on May 20 (June 2), 1917 decided to support the postponement of the land reform until the convocation of a Constituent Assembly.

By "Peasant Soviet" is meant the first All-Russia Congress

of Peasants' Deputies, which under the influence of the S.R. majority also put off the solution of the land question until the convocation of a Constituent Assembly. p. 452

[534] *Chief Land Committee* was formed by the bourgeois Provisional Government in April 1917. On it were the chiefs of the Ministry of Agriculture and other officials appointed by the government, representatives of gubernia land committees and political parties. The Cadets and the S.R.s had an overwhelming majority on it. Officially, it was the committee's task to supervise the collection and processing of material for a land reform. Actually, it was designed mainly to fight the peasant movement for the take-over of landed estates. In its declaration on the land question of May 20 (June 2), 1917, it said that no one could solve the land question until the convocation of a Constituent Assembly. After the October Revolution, the committee fought against the implementation of Lenin's decree on land and was dissolved in December 1917 under a decision of the Council of People's Commissars. p. 452

[535] Lenin's work *Marxism on the State* was written in Zurich in January and February 1917 and contains all the principal statements by Marx and Engels on the state and the dictatorship of the proletariat, extracts from books and articles by Kautsky, Pannekoek and Bernstein, with remarks, additions, generalisations and conclusions by Lenin.

When setting out from Switzerland to Russia in April 1917, Lenin left it along with other material for safekeeping abroad.

After the events of July 1917, when Lenin was in hiding at Razliv station, he asked that his notes be sent to him. He used them to prepare his book *The State and Revolution*. p. 454

[536] These speeches are published according to the minutes of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P.(B.) for 1917, which are now at the Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee. The minutes consist of short records of speeches by participants in the meetings and of C.C. resolutions. Most of them were taken down by Yelena Stasova. These secretarial notes were not officially approved. p. 456

[537] The question of *Pravda*'s Editorial Board was dealt with by the C.C., R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in view of the fact that, as the minutes say, "the best men have gone into government, Party work has seriously suffered and this is especially noticeable in the Party organ, which has altogether failed to satisfy readers, provide articles explaining decrees, etc." After a discussion the C.C. decided to appoint a three-man editorial board consisting of Bukharin, Stalin and Sokolnikov. p. 456

[538] A reference to the establishment of the supreme economic body of the Soviet state which it was planned initially to call "Supreme Economic Conference". p. 456

[539] A reference to the treacherous behaviour of Kamenev, Rykov, Milyutin and Nogin who abandoned their leading posts at the most crucial period of the revolution, the emergence of the Soviet power. By violating Party discipline they thwarted the will and decisions of the Second Congress of Soviets, subverting the newly gained dictatorship of the proletariat and the poor peasants.

On October 29 (November 11), 1917, the S.R.-Menshevik Vikzhel (All-Russia Executive Committee of the Railwaymen's Union), a centre of anti-Soviet activity, passed a resolution on the need to form a government from all "socialist" parties, and the same day negotiations were started on the question between it and the Bolshevik Central Committee. In its resolution the C.C. pointed out that the conciliator parties conducted negotiations with the aim of subverting the Soviet government, and that in view of this the C.C. permitted the Bolsheviks' delegates to take part in the talks with the sole purpose of showing up the unsolvency of the policy of setting up a coalition government and thus putting an end to the talks, but Kamenev and Sokolnikov behaved treacherously at these talks, accepting Vikzhel's demand for a "socialist" government which was to include representatives of counter-revolutionary parties (S.R.s and Mensheviks), alongside the Bolsheviks. This conciliatory policy was supported by Nogin, Milyutin and Rykov.

On November 2 (15) the Bolshevik Central Committee adopted Lenin's resolution on the question of the opposition within the Central Committee, urging all sceptics and waverers to cast off their hesitation and support the Soviet Government (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 277-79). On November 3 (16), the majority of the Central Committee, on Lenin's initiative, presented the minority with an ultimatum (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 280-82) demanding that they completely submit to the Central Committee decisions and policy and stop their subversive and disorganising activity; it declared that any attempt to force the Party to give up power—handed to the Bolshevik Party by millions of workers, soldiers and peasants at the All-Russia Congress of Soviets—was betrayal of the proletarian cause. The minority retaliated by announcing their resignation from responsible posts. On November 4 (17) Kamenev, Zinoviev, Rykov and Milyutin announced their resignation from the C.C. There is no record of their application for a return to the C.C. or of Lenin's draft resolution in reply. The C.C. adopted Lenin's reply as a basis, and passed it on for editing to a three-man committee of C.C. members, having resolved to publish it in the event the four men demanded the publication of their letter. Their application was not published. p. 456

[540] The question of setting up a Supreme Economic Council (S.E.C.) was raised directly after the October Revolution. On October 26 or 27 (November 8 or 9), 1917, a meeting of the Central Council of the Petrograd factory committees in which Lenin took part discussed the project for a governing economic body. In his speech

at an enlarged meeting of the Petrograd Trade Union Council on November 9 (22), Lenin drew attention to the need to create machinery for running the Soviet economy and said that preparations for the establishment of such organisations were already under way. The draft for the organisation of a supreme economic body was worked out by a special commission set up by the Council of People's Commissars.

The Bolshevik group of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee discussed the matter and stressed the need to make the Supreme Economic Council a militant organ of the working-class dictatorship by investing it with legislative powers. On December 1 (14) the question was taken up by the All-Russia Central Executive Committee. The Left S.R.s demanded an enlargement of the S.E.C.'s peasant section and insisted that the Council should be under the All-Russia Central Executive Committee instead of the Council of People's Commissars, as the draft proposed. This was opposed by Lenin and the amendments were voted down by a majority. The decree on the Supreme Economic Council was approved and published in *Gazeta Vremennogo Rabochego i Krestyanskogo Pravitelstva* (Gazette of the Provisional Workers' and Peasants' Government) No. 25 on December 5 (18).

Lenin devoted much attention to organising the work of the Supreme Economic Council, directed its activity and spoke at congresses of economic councils. The question of organising its activity was repeatedly discussed by the Council of People's Commissars. Thus, a government decision of December 23, 1917 (January 5, 1918) said that the S.E.C. must be transformed from a discussion body into one actually directing industry. On January 19 (February 1), 1918, the government discussed the question of the S.E.C.'s activity and the need to eliminate duplication in the work of the S.E.C. and economic commissariats and departments, and adopted a circular binding the S.E.C. and all commissariats to work in close contact with each other. The draft circular had been amended and edited by Lenin (see *Lenin Miscellany XXI*, pp. 122-23).

When large-scale industry was fully nationalised, the S.E.C. became its organ of management. p. 458

[541] After the October revolution the board of the Urals Mining Societies stopped remitting money to the plants in retaliation to the introduction of workers' control over the enterprises, and this led to an extremely difficult situation at the plants. The workers had not been paid wages for several months and were starving. The Urals Regional Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies sent one of its members, V. Vorobyov, to inform the government in Petrograd of the state of affairs in the Urals and to settle the wages issue. Vorobyov gave all the details to Y. M. Sverdlov, who took him to Lenin. When Vorobyov informed Lenin of the state of the Urals industry and the mood of the workers, Lenin gave him the note in question.

On December 23, 1917 (January 5, 1918) the Council of People's

Commissars adopted a decision on the urgent remittance of 5 million rubles to the Urals branch of the State Bank. The decision was to have another 50 million remitted there by January 1 (14), 1918.

In January 1918, the Urals Regional Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies closed down the bureau of the Urals mining industry conference, which was in Yekaterinburg (now Sverdlovsk). In late December 1917 and early 1918, the most important enterprises in the Urals were nationalised. p. 459

[542] Written during a four-day vacation in Finland from December 24 to 27, 1917 (January 6 to 9, 1918). The first topic for elaboration, "Now there is no need to fear the man with the gun", was heard by Lenin in a car on the Finnish railway (see present edition, Vol. 26, p. 463). It was also in Finland that Lenin wrote his articles "Fear of the Collapse of the Old and the Fight for the New", "How to Organise Competition?" and "Draft Decree on Consumers' Communes" (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 400-03, 404-15, 416-17), which elaborated most of the subjects mentioned here. Nearly all these subjects were most fully elaborated in his article "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government" (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 235-77). p. 460

[543] See present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 306-07. p. 460

[544] Reference to a sentence from the speech of the Minister of Food Supply in the coalition government, A. V. Peshekhonov, at a sitting of the First All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies on June 5 (18), 1917 (*Izvestia* of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies No. 85, June 7 [20], 1917). p. 460

[545] A reference to G. V. Plekhanov's speech at the 16th sitting of the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. on the relative value of democratic principles. He said all democratic principles should be subordinated to the exclusive benefit of the revolution and the working class. To ensure the success of the revolution, the Social-Democrats could temporarily limit the operation of any of the democratic principles. In the interests of the revolution, the Social-Democrats could even come out against universal suffrage. "The revolutionary proletariat could restrict the political rights of the higher classes in much the same way the higher classes used to restrict its political rights." The revolutionary people could even go to the extent of dispersing a bad parliament (see *Protokoly II syezda RSDRP* [Minutes of the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.], Priboi Publishers, 1924, p. 156). p. 461

[546] In his "Theses on the Question of the Immediate Conclusion of a Separate and Annexationist Peace" (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 442-50) Lenin elaborated topics 20 and 20 bis; the sentence "*Die Deutschen brauchen eine Niederlage*" is analysed in Thesis 11. p. 461

[547] The article "Their Plan", which appeared in *Pravda* No. 223, January 6, 1918 (December 24, 1917), said: "Lloyd George spoke in the sense that Russia should first determine her future frontier with Germany and Austria-Hungary, and then it will be time for negotiation on a general peace." Hence the conclusion drawn in the article that the Allies were putting out feelers for peace negotiations with Germany at the expense of the weak nations. p. 462

[548] See Marx and Engels, *The Holy Family or the Critique of Critical Critique*, Moscow, 1956, p. 110. p. 462

[549] The article "The Proletariat and the Banks", which appeared in *Pravda* No. 206, December 18 (5), 1917, under the signature of P. Kievsky (Y. Pyatakov). p. 463

[550] *Draft Decree on Consumers' Communes* was written by Lenin on December 25-28, 1917 (January 7-10, 1918), and published in part in *Sobraniye Sochineny* (Collected Works) of V. I. Lenin, Fourth Edition (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 416-17). It was fiercely opposed by bourgeois co-operators. The Soviet government believed that the bourgeois apparatus of accounting and control should be utilised, and made some concessions to the co-operators. Negotiations with them were conducted in March and early April 1918. At first, the co-operators insisted on complete independence of co-operative societies from the organs of the Soviet power and on servicing their own members only. The draft decree worked out in late March was adopted by the Council of People's Commissars on April 10, with Lenin making a number of amendments in the draft. Clauses 11, 12 and 13 were fully written by Lenin.

The decree was approved by the All-Russia Central Executive Committee on April 11, 1918, and the following resolution of the Bolshevik group was adopted: "Consumers' co-operatives, which cater for a sizable section of the population, have until now been pursuing an economic policy which frequently ran counter to, or outside, the economic policy conducted by the Soviet government. This was due to the fact that the leadership of consumers' co-operative societies was chiefly in the hands of the non-labouring classes. At present, with the consolidation of the Soviet power, consumers' co-operatives have expressed their readiness to work under the direct guidance and control of Soviet organs of power. The decree on consumers' co-operatives, worked out on the basis of negotiations between the central co-operative organisations and the Council of People's Commissars, is a compromise solution with essential shortcomings. But, considering the organisation of the proper distribution of food and goods among the population to be one of the most-important and urgent tasks of the present period, whose solution requires a number of socialist measures in this sphere and the substitution of a state trade apparatus for the private commercial apparatus, the Central Exec-

utive Committee adopts the decree on consumers' co-operatives as a transitional measure leading to the implementation of state distribution of food and goods in the country" (*Protokoly zasedany VTsIK 4-go sozyva* [Minutes of the Fourth All-Russia Central Executive Committee], Moscow, 1920, p. 104). The decree was published over the signature of the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, Vl. I. Ulyanov (Lenin), in *Pravda* No. 71, April 13 (March 31), 1918, and *Izvestia* No. 75, April 16 (April 3), 1918. p. 464

[551] -A reference to the directive issued by the People's Commissariat for Food to local Soviets on organising a food supply apparatus, its draft for a Commissariat for Supply, and the statute of the Supreme Economic Council on district economic councils.

Because the old food supply agencies sabotaged the decrees of the Soviet government, the People's Commissariat for Food issued a directive to local Soviets on December 22, 1917 (January 4, 1918) that they should rely on the delegate organisations from the consuming gubernias and armies (delegates' committees), set up under the food supply agencies, take over the food supply effort and organise their own food supply apparatus. At the same time, the People's Commissariat for Food was working out a draft for its reorganisation into a Commissariat for Supply, which was to take charge of supplying the population not only with foodstuffs but other goods as well, sharply curtailing private trade in the process. The local agencies of the Commissariat for Supply were to be turned into supply departments under the Soviets.

On December 23, 1917 (January 5, 1918), the Supreme Economic Council adopted the Statute of District (Regional) and Local Economic Councils, which were to organise and regulate local production under the guidance of the S.E.C. p. 464

[552] In response to the introduction of the 8-hour working day, Kharkov capitalists stopped paying wages to workers in time. The workers appealed to V. A. Antonov-Ovseyenko for help. When the local revolutionary committee, to which the latter applied, failed to take steps, he summoned 15 of the major capitalists to his railway car and ordered them to find 1 million rubles in cash to pay the workers. Following their refusal, they were detained and placed under arrest in a second-class carriage. They were told that unless they got the money in time, they would be sent to work in the mines. This had an effect, the money was collected and paid in, and the capitalists were released. p. 466

[553] A possible quotation from the unsigned article of "a prominent member of the German Independent Social-Democratic Party", which appeared in *Novaya Zhizn* (New Life) No. 7, January 11 (24), 1918. p. 468

[554] A reference to the following words of J. V. Stalin as entered in the minutes: "Comrade Stalin believes that in adopting the slo-

gan of a revolutionary war we play into the hands of imperialism. Comrade Trotsky's stand is not a stand. There is no revolutionary movement in the West—no facts of it—only a potential, and that is something we cannot reckon on. If the Germans start an offensive this will strengthen the counter-revolution over here."

Lenin's reference to G. Y. Zinoviev's speech applies to the following words: "Of course, we are faced with a serious surgical operation, because if we conclude a peace we shall strengthen chauvinism in Germany and for a time weaken the movement all over the West. Beyond that is another prospect—the collapse of the socialist republic" (*Protokoly Tsentralnogo Komiteta RSDRP*[*b*]. *Avgust 1917-fevral 1918* [Minutes of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.). August 1917-February 1918], Moscow, 1958, pp. 171-72). p. 469

[555] *Central Rada*—a bourgeois nationalist organisation set up at a congress of Ukrainian bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties and groups in Kiev in April 1917. Its chairman was M. Grushevsky, and his deputy, V. Vinnichenko. Among its members were Petlyura, Yefremov and other nationalists. After the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Rada proclaimed itself the supreme organ of the "Ukrainian People's Republic" and took the path of open struggle against the Soviet power. Some states tried to set up a centre in the Ukraine pivoted on the Rada for fighting against the proletarian revolution. France gave the Rada a loan of 200 million francs. The Rada helped the Don and Kuban whiteguard generals in their fight against the Soviet power, and tried to disarm Soviet, regiments and the Red Guard in the Ukraine. A manifesto to the Ukrainian people from the Council of People's Commissars, written by V. I. Lenin on December 3 (16), 1917, exposed the Rada's counter-revolutionary anti-Soviet activity (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 361-63). In December 1917 and January 1918 armed uprising against the counter-revolutionary Rada swept the Ukraine, restoring Soviet organs of power. In January 1918, Soviet troops in the Ukraine started an offensive and on January 26 (February 8) took Kiev and overthrew the rule of the bourgeois Rada. p. 471

[556] A reference to a resolution adopted by a congress of frontline Cossacks on January 10 (23). The Congress was held in Kamenskaya and was attended by delegates from 46 Cossack regiments. It recognised the Soviet power, and set up the Don Revolutionary Military Committee, which declared war on Kaledin.

Cossack delegates took part in the work of the Third All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies held in Petrograd from January 10 to 18 (23-31), 1918. p. 472

[557] The resolution, "On the Federal Institutions of the Russian Republic", adopted by the Third All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies on January 15 (28),

1918, said that the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic was being established on the basis of a voluntary union of the peoples of Russia as a Federation of their Soviet Republics. p. 472

[558] The telegram was sent to V. A. Antonov-Ovseyenko in connection with the complaint lodged against him with Lenin by the Ukrainian Central Executive Committee of Soviets. Antonov-Ovseyenko had appointed commissars from his staff to the railway stations and several towns of the Donets Basin, without agreeing this with the local organs, which had aroused the dissatisfaction of the Ukrainian authorities.

Antonov-Ovseyenko took steps to eliminate the friction upon receipt of the telegram and letter from Lenin (see p. 474) and recalled his commissars. p. 473

[559] The Central Committee meeting on January 24 (February 6), 1918 dealt with one question, namely, the agenda of the Seventh Party Congress. On the basis of the proposals submitted, the Central Committee approved the following agenda for the Congress: 1) review of the programme; 2) current situation (internal situation, external situation, economic situation); 3) trade unions, factory committees, etc.; 4) organisational question; 5) miscellaneous. A commission headed by Lenin was set up to work out the Party's programme (see *Protokoly TsK RSDRP. Avgust 1917-fevral 1918* [Minutes of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P., August 1917-February 19181, Moscow-Leningrad, 1929, pp. 223-25).

When speaking of the October Bolsheviks Lenin had in mind those members of the Party who joined it after the October Socialist Revolution. The Central Committee decided that only those members who had been in the Party for more than three months, that is, those who had joined it before the Revolution, were entitled to voice and vote at the Congress. In opening the Seventh Congress Y. M. Sverdlov, who was in the chair, announced the C.C. decision that "the Congress is to be deemed competent only if more than one-half the delegates of the preceding, Sixth Congress of the Party are present" (see *Protokoly syezdov i konferentsy VKP(b). Sedmoi syezd* [Minutes of Congresses and Conferences of the R.C.P.(B.). Seventh Congress], 1928, p. 1). p. 475

[560] *Rumcherod*—Central Executive Committee of Soviets of the Rumanian Front, Black Sea Fleet and Odessa Region. p. 477

[561] In view of the German offensive against the Soviet Republic, the Central Committee met twice on February 18, 1918. At the morning sitting, after an exchange of opinion one question was put to the vote at Lenin's insistence. He called for an immediate proposal to the Germans to resume the peace negotiations. A majority of seven to six voted it down. The Central Committee was to have met at 2.00 p.m. the following day, but when news came that the Germans had taken Dvinsk (Daugavpils) the Central

Committee met the same night, and Lenin reiterated his proposal with the utmost vigour. The Central Committee decided to inform the German Government on behalf of the Council of People's Commissars that the Soviet Government was prepared to conclude peace. The initial draft of the radiogram was written by Lenin on the spot and sent to Berlin the same night on behalf of the Council of People's Commissars (see present edition, Vol. 26, p. 525).

Lenin's statements are taken from the secretarial record of the C.C. minutes. His statements in a different version are given in Vol. 26 of the present edition, pp. 520-21. p. 478

[562] The meeting of the Party's Central Committee on February 23, 1918, was called in connection with the even harsher peace terms which the Germans presented, and the demand that they be examined within 48 hours. The Left Communists Bukharin, Uritsky, and Lomov (Oppokov) once again objected to Lenin's peremptory demand that the German terms be accepted and peace signed at once. Trotsky opposed the signing of the peace and declared that in view of his disagreement with Lenin's stand he was resigning from the post of People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs. Sverdlov, Zinoviev and Sokolnikov favoured signing the peace. In his first speech, Stalin proposed that the peace talks should be resumed and added that "peace does not have to be signed". Following Lenin's criticism of his stand, he spoke out in favour of signing the peace at once. Lenin, Stasova, Zinoviev, Sverdlov, Stalin, Sokolnikov and Smilga voted for the immediate signing of the peace; Bubnov, Uritsky, Bukharin and Lomov (Oppokov) voted against, and Trotsky, Krestinsky, Dzerzhinsky and Joffe abstained. After the vote, the group of Left Communists—Bukharin, Lomov, Bubnov, Pyatakov, Yakovleva and Uritsky—announced that they were resigning from their responsible Party and government posts, reserving the right to conduct agitation inside and outside the Party. p. 479

[563] The telegram from V. A. Antonov-Ovseyenko of February 26, 1918 stating the content of his talks with a delegation of the Little Army Council of the Don forces, which raised the question of autonomy for the Don region with the right of independently solving the land question. p. 483

[564] *Fourth* (*Extraordlnary*) *All-Russia Conference of Soviets* was held in Moscow from March 14 to 16, 1918. It was called to decide on the ratification of the Brest Peace Treaty. On the eve of the Congress, on March 13, the Bolshevik group of the Congress met to hear Lenin's report on the treaty (see *Lenin Miscellany XI*, Second Edition, 1931, pp. 68-70). A preliminary vote in the group yielded the following results: 453 votes for Lenin's motion to ratify the Brest Treaty; 36, against; 8, abstained.

On March 14, Lenin gave his report on the ratification of the peace treaty at the Congress. B. Kamkov, on behalf of the Left

S.R.s, was the rapporteur against ratification. By a roll call vote the Congress passed Lenin's resolution (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 200-01): 784, in favour; 261, against; 115, abstained, including the Left Communists who read out a special declaration on the motives of their abstention. p. 484

[565] A reference to the example Lenin gave in his summing-up speech at the Seventh Congress: "... two men are walking together and are attacked by ten men, one fights and the other runs away—that is treachery; but suppose we have two armies of a hundred thousand each and there are five armies against them; one army is surrounded by two hundred thousand and the other must go to its aid; knowing that the other three hundred thousand of the enemy are in ambush, should the second army go to the aid of the first? It should not" (see present edition, Vol. 27, p. 114). p. 484

[566] The results of the vote on the motion to ratify the Brest Peace Treaty at a meeting of the Communist group of the Fourth (Extraordinary) All-Russia Congress of Soviets on March 13, 1918. See Note 564. p. 485

[567] A reply to a telegram from the Fifth Congress of Soviets of the Turkestan Territory held in Tashkent from April 20 to May 1, 1918. The Congress sent greetings to the Council of People's Commissars and welcomed its correct national policy. The main item on its agenda was the question of autonomy for the territory. The Congress adopted a decision to set up a commission for the convocation of a constituent congress of Soviets of the Turkestan Territory to define the frontiers and the sphere of competence of Turkestan's autonomy. p. 486

[568] A reference to the forthcoming *Fifth All-Russia Congress of Soviets* which opened in Moscow on July 4, 1918. Y. M. Sverdlov reported on the activity of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and Lenin, on the work of the Council of People's Commissars. On these reports the Congress adopted a resolution motioned by the Communist group, expressing complete approval of the foreign and domestic policy of the Soviet Government". It rejected a resolution motioned by the Left S.R.s voicing no confidence in the Soviet Government and proposing to scrap the Brest Peace Treaty and to change the Soviet Government's foreign and domestic policies. The Congress adjourned in view of the counter-revolutionary revolt started by the Left S.R.s in Moscow on July 6 and re-assembled on July 9. Having heard the government's report on the events of July 6 and 7, the Congress fully approved its resolute action in stamping out the criminal venture of the Left S.R.s.

The Congress discussed the reports on the food question and the organisation of the Red Army, and concluded its work by

adopting the first Constitution of the R.S.F.S.R. which gave legislative form to the gains of the Soviet working people. p. 487

[569] A reference is to the mutiny of the Czechoslovak corps, which was formed in Russia before the October Revolution from among Czechs and Slovaks who had been taken prisoner as soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian army. Under an agreement of March 26, 1918, the Soviet Government allowed the corps to leave Russia via Vladivostok, provided the corps handed in its arms and removed Russian officers from its command posts. But in late May, on instructions from, and with the support of, the imperialists of the U.S.A., Britain and France, the counter-revolutionary command of the corps provoked mutiny against the Soviet power. They operated in close contact with the whiteguards and the kulaks and occupied a considerable part of the Urals, the Volga area, and Siberia, everywhere restoring the power of the bourgeoisie. Whiteguard governments, with the participation of the Mensheviks and S.R.s, were set up in the areas occupied by the corps.

Many soldiers of the corps came to realise that they had been duped by their counter-revolutionary command and went over to the side of the Red Army, refusing to fight against Soviet Russia. About 12,000 Czechs and Slovaks fought in the ranks of the Red Army.

In the autumn of 1918 the Volga area was liberated by the Red Army; the whiteguard Czechs were routed in 1919 simultaneously with the rout of Kolchak. p. 488

[570] Lenin's directive was to block the advance of the whiteguard army towards Tsaritsyn. In mid-July, Tikhoretskaya railway station was taken by the whiteguards, but their further advance was halted by the Red Army, which had swiftly re-formed and organised, on Lenin's instructions, reliable protection of the road to Tsaritsyn. p. 488

[571] A reference to the report of the chairman of the Penza Gubernia Party Committee, Yevgenia Bosch, on the state of affairs in the gubernia.

On August 5, 1918, a kulak revolt broke out in Kuchkino Volost, of Penza Uyezd, and soon spread to neighbouring volosts. By means of deceit and coercion, the kulaks managed to recruit many middle and even poor peasants. It was stamped out in Penza Uyezd on August 8, but the situation in the gubernia remained tense. A Left S.R. revolt started in the uyezd centre of Chembar on the night of August 18. The Penza leaders did not take sufficiently vigorous action to suppress the counter-revolutionary revolts. Lenin sent several telegrams to Penza demanding resolute measures in fighting the kulaks. p. 489

[572] A reference to the Board for the Issue of State Papers which printed banknotes and stamps. It was evacuated from Petrograd to Penza. p. 489

[573] M. S. Kedrov's departure for Moscow coincided with the start of the offensive by the Entente interventionist troops in the direction of Vologda and Kotlas.

Lenin proposed that the defence of Kotlas should be organised at all costs, because there were large stocks of explosives there, and accordingly sent a demolition group to prepare their blast off at the critical moment. Lenin ordered the commander of the Moscow district, N. I. Muralov, to find the heavy artillery battery sent from Moscow to the Urals and place it at the disposal of M. S. Kedrov.

The Red Army held Kotlas—and its war stocks—and this was of great importance for the outcome of the civil war in the North. p. 491

[574] The decision of the Council of People's Commissars on reports by the People's Commissariats was adopted at its sitting of August 29, 1918, and had been written by Lenin at the sitting itself. p. 493

[575] The letter of G. Gulov, a Red Army man of peasant stock, was published in *Izvestia* No. 24, February 2, 1919. Gulov quoted his talks with middle peasants and said that they were still "not clear about the status of the middle peasant and the attitude of the Communist Party to him". He asked Lenin to explain to Communists "who the middle peasant was and what assistance he would be able to render our socialist government, given the right approach to him". For a detailed explanation of the Party's attitude to the middle peasantry, see Lenin's report on work in the countryside, which he gave at the Eighth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) on March 23, 1919, and the resolution of the Congress on the attitude to the middle peasants (see present edition, Vol. 29, pp. 198-215 and 217-20). p. 500

[576] After the October Revolution, Trotsky for a time formally accepted the Party's policy on the peasant question, and he follows this line in his letter to middle peasants, which Lenin mentions. In saying that he had no differences with Trotsky on current policy in the peasant question, Lenin did not touch upon his differences with Trotsky on the basic, principled problems of the socialist revolution and socialist construction in connection with Trotsky's "theory of permanent revolution", which was fundamentally erroneous and politically harmful. While Lenin and the Party worked on the premise that, given a correct policy in respect of the middle peasants, and a sound alliance between the working class and the peasantry, socialist society could be built in Russia, Trotsky denied the possibility of socialism winning out in one country, and spoke of an inevitable clash between the proletariat and the peasantry. In 1923, in his theses for the Twelfth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.), Trotsky put forward the slogan of a "dictatorship of industry", which meant the development of industry through the exploitation of the peasantry. This policy would have broken up the alliance of the working class and the peas-

antry and ruined the Soviet system. In subsequent years, Trotsky openly opposed Lenin's plan for the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union and the Party's policy and openly waged a counter-revolutionary struggle against the Soviet power. The Communist Party routed Trotskyism and other defeatist trends, secured a sound alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry and brought the Soviet people to the victory of socialism. p. 500

[577] The notes may have been written by Lenin at a sitting of the Council of People's Commissars on March 8, 1919, during the discussion of the question of reorganising state control. Lenin's directions, briefly stated in these notes, were taken as the basis for the C.P.C. decision of March 8, 1919, on the reorganisation of state control. It stressed the need to amend the draft decree by adding the following points:

"a) Systematic participation of workers' organisations; b) systematic participation of witnesses from among proletarian elements; c) inspection raids and other revolutionary measures to eliminate red tape; d) exact delimitation of rights and duties in respect of other Commissariats; e) strict demarcation of inspection and control functions from auditing functions which are to remain with the Commissariats Concerned."

The revised decree with Lenin's amendments was approved by the All-Russia Central Executive Committee on April 2, 1919 and published in *Izvestia* No. 79, April 12, 1919 (see *Sobraniye Uzakoneny i Rasporyazheny Raboche-Krestyanskogo Pravitelstva* [Collection of Laws and Decrees of the Workers' and Peasants' Government] No. 12, April 24, 1919). p. 508

[578] L. B. Kamenev was then the representative of the Council of Defence at the Southern Front. Lenin sent the telegram to him in connection with the news that Lugansk had been taken by the whiteguards on May 4, 1919. p. 508

[579] In view of the worsening of the position of the Red Army forces on the Southern Front, the Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B.) decided in early May 1919 to mobilise at least 20,000 workers in the Ukraine to strengthen the armies on the Southern Front. The C.C. directive of May 9, 1919 said: "The figure of 20,000 is to be taken as a minimum, and a fortnight as the maximum to save our position on the Southern Front. The work must be conducted with exceptional energy. Cable at once about all measures you take. Every three days cable the C.C. on the results achieved."

On May 16, 1919, the Kharkov Chief Coal Board asked Lenin that all miners be exempted from the draft. In reply, Lenin sent the telegram in question the same day. p. 510

[580] A note written by Lenin in connection with the following fact. The Office of the Executive Secretary of the Council of People's Commissars received complaints from peasants F. Romanov (Yaroslavl Gubernia) and I. Kalinin (Moscow Gubernia) that the local

authorities had wrongfully confiscated horses. The complaints were sent to a special commission dealing with such cases and were returned to the Council of People's Commissars with the remark, "Too busy to deal with such trifles", which so outraged Lenin. p. 511

[581] A possible reference to the resolution of the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B.) on September 21 and 26, 1919, on the mobilisation of Communists and the dispatch of the best members of the Party and the working class to the Southern Front; a circular issued by the Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B.) as a follow up to the September decisions stating the need to gear the whole state apparatus to the defeat of the Denikin army; and a letter of the Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B.) to the Moscow, Kaluga, Tula, and Ryazan gubernia, and the Sychov, Gzhatsk, Vyazma and Yukhnov uyezd Party committees. p. 515

[582] P. F. Okhrimenko tells of the following circumstances. In late autumn of 1919 he arrived in Moscow from Kamenka in the Ukraine, which had been taken by the whiteguards. At the time, he had translated a revolutionary poem by E. Carpenter, which was published in *Pravda* No. 250, November 7, 1919. M. I. Ulyanova was then Secretary of the *Pravda* Editorial Board. When Okhrimenko came to collect his remuneration, he told her of his plight. She heard him with great attention and asked him to call again the next day. When he did, she handed him this note from Lenin. Soon he was provided with all the things he needed. p. 516

[583] Written on the following occasion: on December 13, 1919, telegram No. 927 was sent by the Central Board of State Associations of Machine-Building Plants to the Council of Defence asking that the Kulebaki and Vyksa factories should be supplied with fodder in connection with their work on defence orders. They said that their exercise of the right of procuring fodder on their own had been futile because of red tape in the Commissariat for Food and the unfriendly attitude and arbitrary action on the part of local gubernia food committees.

Having examined the request on December 17, 1919, the Council of Defence 1) adopted a decision on measures to assure the said factories of fodder and 2) instructed D. I. Kursky to draft an additional circular concerning the undeviating fulfilment of the laws passed by the Sixth Congress of Soviets with a popular explanation which Kursky was to submit for the next sitting of the Council of People's Commissars. His draft submitted to the Council on December 23 already included all of Lenin's additions proposed in his note to Kursky.

On December 23, 1919, the draft was examined by the Council of People's Commissars, which decided: to circulate the draft to the commissars for their opinion and, in the absence of objections, to submit it to Lenin for signature. The decree was signed

on December 30, 1919 (see *Sobraniye Uzakoneny...* No. 1-2 for 1920). p. 517

[584] *Council of Defence* (*Council of Workers' and Peasants' Defence*) was formed under a decision of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee on November 30, 1918, to direct the defence of the Soviet Republic. The decision set before the Council the task of implementing the All-Russia C.E.C. decree of September 2, 1918, which declared the Soviet Republic a military camp, and instituting a military regime in transport and food supply, and also in the war industry. It was vested with full powers in mobilising men and resources for defence. The Council directed the supply of the front with reinforcements, arms, food and clothes.

Lenin was at the head of the Council, on which were representatives of the All-Russia C.E.C., the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic, the Extraordinary Commission for Supplies, the People's Commissariat for Communications, the People's Commissariat for Food, and the All-Russia Central Council of Trade Unions.

In early April 1920, following the elimination of the main fronts, the Council of Defence was transformed into the Council of Labour and Defence, and on December 29, 1920, with the Civil War over, the Eighth All-Russia Congress of Soviets turned it into a commission of the Council of People's Commissars, in which capacity it operated until the end of 1937. p. 517

[585] Written in addition to an earlier one sent to Kursky (see p. 517). It gives instructions on the nature of the article for the newspaper *Bednota* (The Poor). However, the paper did not carry any article on combating red tape. p. 518

[586] The meeting of the Communist group of the All-Russia Central Council of Trade Unions was called on March 15, 1920, to discuss the theses of M. P. Tomsky on the tasks of the trade unions, published in *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* (Economic Life) No. 54, March 10, 1920. They had been discussed beforehand by a commission set up by the group, but it had retained all the principled propositions of the theses. The author held that industrial enterprises should be run on collective lines and said so in his theses. This was supported by the majority of the group. At the meeting of the group, Lenin spoke several times, making amendments and criticising various points of the theses, and supporting the principle of one-man management. p. 520

[587] In view of the fact that no generally accepted type of management for Soviet enterprises had crystallised, various combinations were allowed while the process was on, namely: 1) the enterprise is headed by an executive from among the workers, who has a specialist engineer for an assistant; 2) the enterprise is headed by a specialist engineer, who is the actual manager of the enterprise, and he has a worker commissar with broad powers and the

duty to deal with every aspect of the business; 3) the enterprise is headed by a specialist director, with one or two Communist assistants with powers and the duty to look into every branch of management but without the right to rescind the director's instructions; and 4) the enterprise is headed by a small well-knit group whose chairman is responsible for the work of the group as a whole. This form of organisation in industry was adopted by the Ninth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) (see *KPSS v resolyutsiyakh*.... Part One, 1954, p. 483). p. 523

[588] In connection with the mass applications by German workers, technicians and engineers to settle in Soviet Russia and work there, the Soviet Government broadcast an announcement on March 16, 1920, that special delegations should be sent out to find out about living conditions for the settlers. In an additional broadcast on May 6, 1920, it once again stressed the need to make a study beforehand of the economic conditions of life in Soviet Russia, since foreign workers who settled in Russia would receive no more wages than Russian workers.

Copies of these broadcasts with a note by Lenin were sent by deputy chairman of the Supreme Economic Council Milyutin to the People's Commissariat for Labour, the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade and members of the Presidium of the Supreme Economic Council as a brief for negotiations. Contracts were valid only when the pledge specified by Lenin was signed.

However, because the talks conducted by these agencies on the resettlement of German workers were slow, Lenin had to write another note to Milyutin (see p. 524). p. 525

[589] A reference to the experiments of S. I. Botin, who was working on the problem of distance controlled blasts with the aid of electromagnetic waves. Lenin realised the great importance of this in conditions of the Civil War and foreign intervention, and devoted much attention to and concern for the inventor.

The "expert" in this case is A. M. Nikolayev, a member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Posts and Telegraph in 1918-24, and chairman of the Radio Council. In the summer of 1920, Nikolayev was seconded, on Lenin's assignment, to work with S. I. Botin as a specialist and attorney for the inventor's secrets. p. 526

[590] The book by the American revolutionary Socialist, Daniel De Leon, *Two Pages from Roman History*, New York, 1920. There was no Russian edition of the book. p. 528

[591] A. I. Yelizarova tells the following: "This was in the autumn of 1920. Since that January, my department, under a decision of the Council of People's Commissars, had been transferred from the People's Commissariat for Social Security to the People's Commissariat for Education. I hesitated to move with it at once: I

was afraid that I would not be able to work with the People's Commissariat for Education—because of the differences on some points—especially after the sudden appointment as my deputy of a total stranger from the Commissariat for Education in place of one of my associates. Vladimir Ilyich suggested that I give it a try, and if things didn't work out and I failed to establish a working arrangement with this person, then I could make an effort to get another deputy. In fact things did not work out...." She informed Lenin of this and he handed her the note at a sitting of the Council of People's Commissars (A. I. Yelizarova, "A Page from Reminiscences about Vladimir Ilyich in the Council of People's Commissars". *Vospominaniya o V. I. Lenine. Ch. 2* [Reminiscences of Lenin. Part Two], 1957, pp. 293-94). p. 529

[592] Sent to the Petrograd Economic Council, factory managements and factory trade union committees in Petrograd (Baltic, Metal, Obukhov, Siemens-Schuckert, Dumeau, Severny Cable, and the Arsenal), and also to the Electrical and Metal Departments of the Supreme Economic Council, the Moscow plants of Dynamo and Izolyator, and the Kolchugino Works. p. 531

[593] Written on N. K. Krupskaya's theses, "On Polytechnical Education", which she drew up for a report at a Party conference on public education called by the Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B) directly after the Eighth Congress of Soviets on December 31, 1920. The task of the conference was to prepare material on "organising education in the Republic" for the Tenth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.). Lenin kept in touch with the work of the conference, which was to hear N. K. Krupskaya's report on polytechnical education, but she did not give it because she fell ill. p. 532

[594] *G. F. Grinko*—People's Commissar for Education in the Ukraine, who put forward his own scheme for public education. It was based on two principles: 1) for children under 15 there was to be a "single system of social education, with all organisational forms (nursery schools, children's homes, seven-year schools, etc.) on labour lines, and 2) after the age of 15 there was to be "special training in some sphere of production or organisational group (industrial, agricultural, economic, etc.)".

This scheme clashed with the programme of the R.C.P.(B.) in the sphere of public education: "1) Free and universal general, polytechnical education (giving an idea of the theory and practice of all the main branches of production) for children of both sexes until the age of 17.... 8) Broad network of occupational education for persons from the age of 17 linked up with polytechnical knowledge" (see *KPSS v resolyutsiyakh...*, Part One, 1954, pp. 419-20).

O. Y. Schmidt, who was then deputy chairman of the Chief Administration for Vocational Training, favoured, like Grinko, technical vocational training for young people "at an earlier age ... that is, from 15". He argued that the "interests of production, the interests of economic development imperatively demanded

a reduction of the so-called general educational, and actually the purely verbal, school and a transition to concrete, special instruction as early as possible". Schmidt tried to turn a makeshift measure, caused by the difficulties of the transition period, into a principle, and wrote articles in the press arguing in favour of monotechnical instead of polytechnical education, that is, training in some branch of production. For a criticism of these views, see present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 123-25. p. 534

[595] Lenin's Report on the Substitution of a Tax in Kind for the Surplus Grain Appropriation System was given at the 14th sitting of the Tenth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) on March 15, 1921 (see present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 214-28). The Congress adopted a decision to substitute a tax in kind for the requisitioning of surplus food and to pass from the policy of War Communism to the New Economic Policy (NEP). The decision of the Congress on NEP ensured the sound economic alliance between the working class and the peasantry for the construction of socialism. p. 535

[596] A reference to Lenin's book *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, 1918, p. 102 (see present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 305-06). p 535

[597] A reference to the counter-revolutionary mutiny in Kronstadt which broke out on February 28, 1921. It was organised by the S.R.s, Mensheviks and whiteguards and involved a sizable section of the Kronstadt sailors, most of whom were new recruits from the countryside, were politically undeveloped and voiced the peasants' discontent with the surplus food requisitioning. The mutiny was facilitated by the economic difficulties in the Soviet state and the weakening of the Bolshevik organisation in Kronstadt.

The counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, not daring to come out openly against the Soviet system, resorted to a new tactic: to deceive the masses, the leaders of the mutiny put forward the slogan of "Soviets without the Communists", in the hope of getting the Communists out of the leadership in the Soviets, destroying the Soviet system and restoring the capitalist system in the country.

On March 2, the mutineers arrested the naval command. They established contacts with foreign imperialists, who promised them financial and military aid. The seizure of Kronstadt by the mutineers created a direct threat to Petrograd.

The Soviet Government sent Red Army units under the command of M. N. Tukhachevsky to suppress the mutiny. The Communist Party sent more than 300 delegates of the Tenth Party Congress with military experience, headed by Kliment Voroshilov, to storm Kronstadt. On March 18, the uprising was liquidated.

[598] Committees of landless and land-starved peasants in the Ukraine, set up in 1920 to defend the interests of the poor and middle peasants. Dissolved in 1933. p. 535

[599] At the Tenth Congress Lenin motioned the proposal to annul the resolution of the Ninth Congress on the attitude to the co-operatives, because it was based on the surplus food appropriation principle, and the Tenth Congress had adopted a resolution substituting it by a tax in kind. The Tenth Congress adopted Lenin's resolution on the co-operatives (see present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 229-32 and *KPSS v resolyutsiyakh*..., Part One, 1954, p. 564). p. 536

[600] A reference to the decision of the Council of Labour and Defence of February 28, 1921, allocating 10 million gold rubles on the purchase of food and prime necessities abroad. On Lenin's proposal, the Tenth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) passed a resolution on improving the condition of workers and poor peasants (see *KPSS v resolyutsiyakh*..., Part One, p. 565). p. 536

[601] A reference to the decree of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, "On the Levy of a Tax in Kind on Rural Entrepreneurs in the Form of a Deduction of a Portion of Their Farm Produce", of October 30, 1918, published in *Izvestia* No. 248, November 14, 1918. p. 537

[602] For the Tenth Congress of the Party, P. Popov used material of the Central Statistical Board to write a pamphlet on the question of the tax and the requisitioning under the title *Grain Production of the Soviet and Federated Republics* (*Grain Output*). Lenin quoted it in his report (see present edition, Vol. 32, p. 227). p. 537

[603] An apparent reference to the non-fulfilment by Petrograd organs of the decision of the Council of Labour and Defence of January 28, 1921, on "Bonuses to Industrial and Office Workers Engaged in the Making of Electric Ploughs" (see *Istorichesky Arkhiv* [Historical Archives], 1956, No. 4, p. 18).

L. M. Mikhailov was chairman of the commission set up under the Petrograd Soviet with the task of distributing orders for electric ploughs among the Petrograd plants and organising their production. p. 540

[604] The note was in reply to a letter from S. G. Said-Galiev, Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, who raised four questions:

"1. Is there need for the existence of small autonomous republics within the Russian Soviet Federation in general, and of the Tatar Republic in particular?

"2. If the answer is 'yes', then for how long, or, in other words, until the fulfilment of what tasks or the attainment of what goals?

"3. Is it right to say that the Communists of the formerly dominant nation, as having a higher level in every respect, should play the part of pedagogues and nurses to the Communists and all other working people of the formerly oppressed nationalities whose name has been given to the said autonomous republic (region

commune), and that the former should give up their places to the latter as they grow?

"4. In all autonomous republics, the Tatar Republic in this case, there are two clearly distinct trends (groupings) among the native Communists (Tatars): one of them takes the standpoint of class struggle and works for further class differentiation of the sections of the native population, and the other has a shade of petty-bourgeois nationalism....

"Is it right ... that the former should enjoy the full and all-round support of the whole of the R.C.P.(B.) and its supreme organs, whereas the latter (insofar as they are sincere and have a burning desire to work for the proletarian revolution and insofar as they are useful because of their work) should merely be made use of and simultaneously educated in a spirit of pure internationalism, without, however, being given preference over the former, as has been recently the case not only in the Tatar Republic?" p. 541

[605] Written in the margin of a report by the representative of the Council of Labour and Defence on the Petrograd electric plough commission, V. I. Ugrimov, concerning the state of work at the plants engaged in fulfilling the orders of the commission. p. 542

[606] *Extraordinary Commission for Exports* under the Council of Labour and Defence was formed on August 10, 1921, to help the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade in building up an export stock and concentrating it in its hands. The Commission consisted of representatives of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade, the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, the All-Russia Extraordinary Commission, the Supreme Economic Council and the People's Commissariat for Food. p. 543

[607] *R. E. Klasson* (1868-1926)—an outstanding electrical engineer, specialising in hydropeat extraction, who introduced a number of inventions in the industry. p. 544

[608] A reference to the item entitled "Order for Hydroturbines in Sweden", carried by *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* No. 194, September 2, 1921, saying that the power section of the State Planning Commission was told, during its discussion of conclusions on a project for turbine installations, worked out for the Volkhov and Svir construction sites, that the order for hydroturbines could be placed with the Swedish plant of Nydqvist och Holms, which was at the complete disposal of the Soviet Government as of July 1, 1921. At that time, its large turbine department was idle for lack of orders. Speakers at the sitting noted that because of delay in placing the order, the turbine department of the plant was being run at a loss. The power section decided to take steps to place the order at once and to raise this matter at the next sitting of the Council of People's Commissars through the Presidium of the State Planning Commission. Lenin's intervention speeded up the solution of this question. p. 544

[609] *V. A. Mikhels*—a journalist who wrote the item "Destitute Billionaires", pointing to the crying disorder at the warehouses in Lizino station of the Moscow-Kazan Railway, where 2.5 million poods of metal, costly machines, equipment and tools had not been inventoried and were lying in the open.

Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council P. A. Bogdanov sent Lenin (in reply to his letter of September 15) a report from the chief of the State Warehouse Administration under the Supreme Economic Council, I. K. Yezhov, who complained of a shortage of warehouse space, multiplicity of authority, and a struggle for warehouse space between various departments. For Lenin's reply to Yezhov's report, see present edition, Vol. 35, pp. 523-24. p. 546

[610] The Fuel Commission of the Council of Labour and Defence, which was headed by Lenin, decided on September 30, 1921 that G. I. Krumin was to "work out the question of improving the business of publication in *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* of reports on the fuel operations of the Central Timber Board, as a matter of priority, and to submit to the Council, within a week, a draft decree, which he was to show Lenin beforehand" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). The draft submitted by Krumin apparently did not satisfy Lenin, and he wrote the document which served as a draft for the C.L.D. decision of October 7. p. 547

[611] A reference to the sitting of the Council of Labour and Defence on October 14, 1921, to discuss the report of the Chief Transport Commission of the Council for June-August 1921. It said that there was a sharp drop in labour productivity in railway and water transport shops because of food and money difficulties and shortage of most materials and spare parts supplied by the transport plants of the Supreme Economic Council.

The reference is to A. A. Troyanovsky, chairman of the Council's commission to organise the warehouse business, which was set up on October 14, 1921. p. 548

[612] *Second All-Russia Congress of Political Education Workers* was held in Moscow from October 17 to 22, 1921. It was attended by 310 delegates. Lenin's report was given at the end of the afternoon sitting on October 17, 1921 (see present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 60-80). p. 549

[613] The date of the decree on the establishment of the All-Russia Extraordinary Commission for Abolition of Illiteracy. It was set up under the People's Commissariat for Education and its five members were approved by the Council of People's Commissars. It had a standing conference of representatives from the department for work in the countryside under the Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B.), the department for work among women under the Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B.), the Central Committee

of the Russian Young Communist League, the All-Russia Central Council of Trade Unions, the Political Administration of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic and the Universal Education Board (see *Izvestia* No. 162, July 24, 1920). p. 549

[614] Written during the preparations for the Ninth Congress of Soviets which discussed the question of measures to build up and develop agriculture. Lease of land was prohibited under the legislation then in force (Decree on Land adopted by the Second Congress of Soviets and the Law on the Socialisation of Land). The transition to NEP and the need to take steps to strengthen and develop peasant farming raised the question of allowing some lease of land. The Ninth Congress discussed it and adopted a relevant decision. Only labour and short-term lease of land was allowed under the Land Code of the R.S.F.S.R. adopted by the Fourth Session of the Ninth All-Russia Central Executive Committee in October 1922 (see present edition, Vol. 33, p. 392).

Concessions in agriculture were governed by special legislation.

[615] Written in connection with the discussion of the tactics of a united working-class front. Initially the question was discussed by the Party's Central Committee on December 1, 1921, which approved the line of joint action with workers in the Second, the Two-and-a-Half and the Amsterdam Internationals. It was dealt within a special (19th) paragraph of the theses "On the United Working-Class Front and the Attitude to Workers in the Second, the Two-and-a-Half, and the Amsterdam Internationals, and also to Workers Supporting Anarcho-Syndicalist Organisations". The theses were adopted by the Executive Committee of the Comintern, and the Eleventh All-Russia Conference of the R.C.P.(B.) (December 19-22, 1921) acceded to them. A more detailed discussion of the theses was held by the first enlarged Plenary Meeting of the Comintern Executive Committee (February 21-March 4), which adopted them. They were endorsed by the Fourth Congress of the Comintern.

For the above-mentioned Paragraph 19, see *KPSS v resolyutsiyakh*..., Part One, 1954, pp. 585-86). p. 552

[616] The reference is evidently to the Fourth Duma. p. 553

[617] *First All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies* was held from June 3 to 24 (June 16 to July 7), 1917. p. 553

[618] The numerical proportion of the votes of the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks at the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., where 20 Bolshevik delegates had 24 votes, and the Mensheviks—following the withdrawal of 2 *Rabocheye Dyelo* delegates and 5 Bundists, who supported them—20 votes, a total of 44. p. 553

[619] A reference to the Bolshevik Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P held in London in April and May 1905, and the parallel conference of Mensheviks in Geneva. p. 553

[620] A reference to the distribution of votes at the Fourth (Stockholm, "Unity") Congress and the Fifth (London) Congress of the Party, that is, the period when the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks were formally members of the same party, with a single Central Committee and regular conferences, etc.

Of the 112 delegates with vote at the Fourth Congress, the Bolsheviks had 46, the Mensheviks, 62, and the rest belonged to non-factional Social-Democrats. The Mensheviks had a small edge and so the Congress adopted Menshevik resolutions on some questions. In his Appeal to the Party on the question of this Congress Lenin wrote:

"We must and shall fight ideologically against those decisions of the Congress which we regard as erroneous. But at the same time we declare to the whole Party that we are opposed to a split of any kind. We stand for submission to the decisions of the Congress....

"We call upon all our fellow-thinkers to accept such submission and such ideological struggle." (See present edition, Vol. 10, p. 314). However, the Congress decision on Party unity remained on paper, for the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks kept to their respective views and retained their separate organisations.

Of the 336 delegates with vote at the Fifth Congress, the Bolsheviks had 105, the Mensheviks 97, the Bundists 57, the Polish Social-Democrats 44, the Lettish Social-Democrats 29, and "non-Party" delegates 4. The Bolsheviks had the Poles and the Latvians with them, and so commanded a stable majority. On all questions of principle the Congress passed Bolshevik resolutions. The Congress elected a Central Committee consisting of five Bolsheviks, 4 Mensheviks, 2 Polish and 1 Lettish Social-Democrats. Candidate members included 10 Bolsheviks, 7 Mensheviks, 3 Poles and 2 Latvians.

The Congress marked a major victory for Bolshevism over the Party's opportunist wing, the Mensheviks. For details on the Fifth Congress, gee Lenin's article "The Attitude towards Bourgeois Parties", present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 489-509. p. 553

[621] The miscellany *Marxism and Liquidationism*, published in 1914, gave figures on the workers' collections for various purposes by supporters of the Bolsheviks and of the liquidators. These figures proved that the majority of workers rallied round the Bolsheviks. Collections in aid of strikers at various factories and in various industries, for persons who had been victimised, and for various other needs of the working-class movement, carried through the Duma groups of the Bolsheviks and the liquidators, reached the following figures for the period from October 1913 to June 6, 1914 (according to reports in Bolshevik and liquidators' papers): through the Bolshevik group, 12,891.24 rubles (number of

workers' groups, 1,295); through the liquidators' group, 6,114.87 rubles (number of workers' groups, 215); the Bolsheviks received only 6 per cent from non-workers, and the liquidators, 46 per cent. The number of group collections by workers for the working-class press was distributed as follows (by May 1914): for the Bolshevik papers (*Pravda* and *Rabochy Put*) roughly 6,000 and for the liquidators' newspaper (*Luch*) a total of 1,500 (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 381-87). p. 554

[622] A reference to the proportion of votes polled by the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks during the election to the Constituent Assembly in November 1917. For details, see Lenin's article "The Constituent Assembly Elections and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" (present edition, Vol. 30, p. 254). p. 554

[623] In October and November 1921, the case of red tape in the manufacture of the ploughs was repeatedly on the agenda of the Council of Labour and Defence. The collegium of the Metal Department of the Supreme Economic Council, which was instructed by the Presidium of the Council in May 1920 to manufacture the ploughs, displayed impermissible laxity and irresponsibility which doomed the programme from the outset. The Extraordinary Three-Man Committee set up to co-ordinate the operations took an extremely formal attitude to the task, and confined itself to the writing of reports and all sorts of correspondence between the departments. Its members did not have the courage to inform their superiors that the plan could not be fulfilled and that it was no use wasting money. It failed to inform either the Council of Labour and Defence or the Council of People's Commissars of the state of affairs. At great cost over a period of almost two years, five experimental ploughs were manufactured out of a planned total of 2,000. The case was referred to the Moscow Military Tribunal, which in early January 1922 ruled that there was substance in the charges against the officials of the Supreme Economic Council and the People's Commissariat for Agriculture to the effect that they had been derelict in their duties, but, in view of their previous record in rehabilitating the economy, decided to forgo punishment. In addition, on the proposal of the tribunal, the Council of Labour and Defence issued an administrative rebuke to the Presidium of the Supreme Economic Council and the collegium of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture for their insufficiently serious attitude to the manufacture of the Fowler ploughs (see Lenin's letter to Bogdanov on December 23, 1921 in this volume, pp. 556-58). p. 555

[624] Members of the collegium of the Metal Department of the Supreme Economic Council. p. 558

[625] *M. I. Unkovsov*—an engineer, in charge of the Machine Cultivation Department of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture, and chairman of the Extraordinary Three-Man Committee for the manufacture of the Fowler ploughs. p. 558

[626] *P. P. Ilyin*—chief of the Fourth State Motor Works, and its former owner. The plant was given part of the plough order but failed to fulfil it. p. 558

[627] A reference to the following telegram published in *Pravda* and *Izvestia* on February 3, 1922: "Hanover, January 31 (Radio). The International Metalworkers' Federation has proposed to the Commission for the Convocation of an International Workers' Congress due to open in Rome on April 21, that a general strike of the organised workers should be declared in the event of the outbreak of war. The Metalworkers' Federation has elected a special commission for the vigorous propaganda of its proposal." This decision was taken by the Vienna conference of the Executive Committee of the International Metalworkers' Federation, which was affiliated to the reformist Amsterdam International of Trade Unions. The latter existed from 1919 to 1945. p. 559

[628] Written in reply to A. D. Tsyurupa's objections to Lenin's proposal on a draft directive to the Narrow Council (see present edition, Vol. 35, p. 540). p. 568

[629] *Potemkin villages*—an early 19th-century expression denoting window-dressing. During a tour of the south of Russia by the Empress Catherine II in 1787, the Governor-General of the Yekaterinoslav Vicegerency, G. A. Potemkin, gave her the impression of exceptional welfare among the population by stage-mounting various decorative villages, arches, parks, etc. p. 567

[630] Differences on organisation appeared among workers in consumers' co-operative societies in early 1922. There was the question of separating workers' co-operatives from the rest, and this was generally accepted among the leadership and rank-and-file co-operators. One of them, Tikhomirov, informed Lenin of this mood, and was sent the present note in reply. p. 569

[631] The MS. of a book by I. I. Skvortsov-Stepanov, *The Electrification of the R.S.F.S.R. and the Transitional Phase of the World Economy*, which he prepared under an assignment from Lenin.
It was published in March 1922 with Lenin's introduction. p. 570

[632] H. Cunow's book, *Ursprung der Religion und des Gottesglaubens*, Published in Germany in 1913 and translated by Skvortsov-Stepanov into Russian in 1919. That same year it was issued by Kommunist Publishers under the title *The Origin of Religion and Belief in God.* p. 570

[633] A reference to a table from the book by Dr. G. Respondek, *Weltwirtschaftlicher Stand und Aufgaben der Elektroindustrie*, Berlin. 1920, cited by Skvortsov-Stepanov on p. 97 to show the level of electrification of some industries in the United States. Lenin

questioned the figure of 1,585,953 given under the head of "HP Requirements" for the textile industry, electrical engineering and foundries and machine-building plants.

In explaining why the figure was the same for these branches, Skvortsov-Stepanov said in a note to the table: "These figures are dubious because of their absolute equality. The table has been taken from Respondek's book, p. 3. He himself is a sufficiently careful writer. He must have taken these data from American sources which are not always precise." p. 570

[634] Lenin's introduction to Skvortsov-Stepanov's book, *The Electrification of the R.S.F.S.R. and the Transitional Phase of the World Economy*, Gosizdat, 1922 (see present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 245-46). p. 570

[635] The notes for a political report of the Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B.) to the Eleventh Congress of the Party (see present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 263-309). p. 571

[636] A reference to Lenin's speech on the international and domestic situation of the Soviet Republic at a meeting of the Communist group of the All-Russia Congress of Metalworkers, March 6, 1922 (see present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 212-26). p. 571

[637] *Smena Vekh* (Change of Landmarks)—a collection of counter-revolutionary articles, issued in Prague in July 1921. Its authors (N. V. Ustryalov, Y. V. Klyuchnikov, Y. N. Potekhin, S. S. Lukyanov, A. V. Bobrishchev-Pushkin, and S. S. Chakhotin) were representatives of intellectuals from the anti-Soviet whiteguard camp. They had come to realise that it was hopeless to try to overthrow the Soviet power with the aid of foreign armed intervention and were hoping that the Soviet state would evolve round to their views. p. 571

[638] A reference to the book by Alexander Todorsky, *A Year with Rifle and Plough*, issued by the Vesyegonsk Uyezd Executive Committee in 1918. Lenin's article, "A Little Picture in Illustration of Big Problems" (see present edition, Vol. 28, p. 387), contains a quotation from the book in a copy of which (p. 62) he underlined it. This copy is now at the Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. p. 572

[639] For details, see present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 292-94. p. 572

[640] A reference to the incident from Lenin's law practice, which he related in the political report of the Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B.) to the Eleventh Party Congress (see present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 294-95). p. 572

[641] A. D. Tsyurupa was ill and unable to take part in the work of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. p. 580

[642] A reference to O. A. Yermansky's book *The Taylor System and Scientific Organisation of Labour*, Gosizdat, 1922. For Lenin' s review of the book, see present edition, Vol. 33, p. 368. p. 581

[643] N. N. Krestinsky was then R.S.F.S.R. Ambassador to Germany. p. 581

[644] L. M. Khinchuk's book *Central Union of Consumers' Societies in Conditions of the New Economic Policy*, referred to by Lenin, was published by the All-Russia Central Union of Consumers' Societies in late 1922. The author took account of Lenin's remarks and inserted some of them in the final text. p. 583

[645] The plan for Lenin's report "Five Years of the Russian Revolution and the Prospects of the World Revolution", which he read in German at the morning sitting of the Fourth Congress of the Comintern on November 13, 1922 (see present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 418-32). p. 585

[646] Lenin was named the chief rapporteur in the list of speakers on the question of "Five Years of the Russian Revolution and the Prospects of the World Revolution", but in view of his prolonged illness (from May 26 to October 2, 1922), he was unable to give a big report on the whole subject, which is why he intended to make a short introductory speech to the debate on one aspect of the subject, namely, the question of NEP. p. 585

[647] A reference to the quotation from Lenin's article "'Left-Wing' Childishness and the Petty-Bourgeois Mentality" (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 334-35). He must have taken it from the pamphlet *The Main Task of Our Day*; "*Left-Wing*" *Childishness and the Petty-Bourgeois Mentality* (published by the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Red Army Deputies, 1918, p. 16). A copy of the pamphlet, with the underlined passages mentioned by Lenin in the plan of his report and in the report at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, is now at the Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. p. 585

[648] See present edition, Vol. 27, p. 336. p. 585

[649] A reference to the resolution "On the Organisational Structure of the Communist Parties, and on the Methods and Content of Their Activities", adopted by the Third Congress of the Com-

intern in 1921. For Lenin's detailed statement on the resolution, see present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 430-32. p. 586

[650] Lenin wrote the outline of his proposed speech at the Tenth All-Russia Congress of Soviets in the first half of December 1922. On the matter of the speech Lenin wrote to J. V. Stalin for members of the Central Committee on December 15 (see present edition, Vol. 33, p. 460). But because of his poor health, Lenin was unable to speak at the Congress. p. 588

[651] The data given by Lenin are a reflection of the lag of prices behind the money circulation between June and November 1920 (by 16 per cent), 1921 (50 per cent) and 1922 (60 percent). This was evidence of the stabilisation of the ruble and apparently served to confirm Point 8 of the outline "Finance. Small Step Forward".

Lenin must have taken the data from L. N. Kritsman's introduction to a collection entitled, *Along New Paths. The Results of the New Economic Policy for 1921 and 1922* (Issue II, *Finance. Works Edited by a Commission of the Council of Labour and Defence*, Moscow, C.L.D. Publication, 1923). On December 10, 1922, during his preparations for the speech, Lenin asked for the proofs of the collection. p. 588

[652] A possible reference to the article by F. Kin, "Specialists (A Statistical Survey)", published in *Pravda* No. 197 on September 3, 1922. On the strength of a poll of 230 engineers working in Soviet administrative bodies and trusts the author drew the conclusion that there were two kinds of specialists: those hostile to the Soviet power, and others who were steadily being drawn into co-operation with it. The author maintained that one of the tasks of the Soviet power was to promote this differentiation of bourgeois specialists in every way. p. 589

[653] This is known as Lenin's "*Testament*" and was dictated from December 23 to 26, 1922, and the Addition to the Letter of December 24, 1922, on January 4, 1923.

This letter, like those that follow, are part of Lenin's last works, which are equivalent to an outline programme. They are "Pages from a Diary", "On Co-operation", "Our Revolution" (Apropos of N. Sukhanov's Notes)", "How We Should Reorganise the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection (Recommendation to the Twelfth Party Congress)", and "Better Fewer, But Better", and were dictated in January and February 1923 and published at the time in *Pravda* (see present edition, Vol. 33).

Lenin considered it necessary to have the present letter made known to the Party Congress after his death. Accordingly, it was read out to the delegations of the Thirteenth Congress which was held from May 23 to 31,1924. The Congress unanimously decided

not to publish the letter, because it was addressed to the Congress and had not been intended for the press.

The letters mentioned above were, under a decision of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., read out to the delegates of the Twentieth Party Congress, and then circulated among Party organisations.

In accordance with the instruction of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., the letters were published in the magazine *Kommunist* No. 9 in 1956 and issued in pamphlet form in a mass edition. p. 591

654 A reference to the capitulatory behaviour of Zinoviev and Kamenev at the sittings of the Party Central Committee on October 10 (23) and 16 (29), 1917, when they spoke and voted against Lenin's resolution on immediate preparations for an armed uprising. Though they were given a firm rebuff at both sittings, they issued a statement in the Menshevik *Novaya Zhizn* (October 18) about the Bolshevik preparations for the uprising, which, they said, was a gamble. In this manner, they gave away to Rodzyanko and Kerensky a great Party secret. That same day, Lenin, in his "Letter to Bolshevik Party Members", condemned their behaviour and said it was an unprecedented act of strike-breaking (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 216-19). p. 595

655 *Autonomisation*—the idea to unite the Soviet Republics through their entry into the R.S.F.S.R. on the principle of autonomy. This was at the basis of the "Draft Resolution on Mutual Relations of the R.S.F.S.R. and Independent Republics", which was proposed by Stalin and adopted, in September 1922, by a C.C. commission set up to work out for the C.C. plenum the question of further relationships between the R.S.F.S.R., the Ukrainian Republic, the Byelorussian Republic and the Transcaucasian Federation. In a letter to the members of the Political Bureau on September 26, 1922, Lenin seriously criticised the project. He proposed a totally different solution of the question, namely, voluntary union of all the Soviet Republics, including the R.S.F.S.R., in a new state entity, the Union of Soviet Republics, based on complete equality.

He wrote: "We recognise ourselves equal with the Ukrainian Republic, and the others, and join the new union, the new federation together with them and on an equal footing...." The C.C. Commission, in accordance with Lenin's instructions, revised the draft resolution, which was approved by a Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee in October 1922. Preparatory work for the unification of the Republics was started on the basis of the C.C. decision. On December 30, 1922, the First Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R. adopted its historic decision on the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Lenin attached exceptional importance to the correct conduct of national policy and the implementation of the Declaration and Treaty, adopted by the Congress of Soviets. On December 30 and 31, he dictated his letter "The Question of Nationalities or 'Autonomisation'". It was read out at a meeting of leaders of delegations to the Twelfth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) in April 1923. The Congress adopted a resolution, "On the National Question", based on Lenin's injunctions. p. 605

[656] The plenary meetings of the Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B.) held in October and December 1922 had on their agenda questions of the formation of the U.S.S.R. p. 605

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В. И. ЛЕНИН
СОЧИНЕНИЯ
Том 36

На английском языке